634 Keo), and the kapitan from Gunung Rodja (the
124 southern half of Ende town). After a long sales
talk, the Radja offered all of his aid and said
that on the next morning the kapitan of Gunung
Rodja (evidently a kind of crony of the Radja,
and one who usually wears an overseas cap, even
while eating) would come to the pasanggrahan
and take us to Roworeke. Meanwhile I asked
[611] about Tana Ai, and they knew that it was
matrilineal. Then the hadji from Keo said that it
was matrilineal too, which was news to me.
Then I asked about Wolo Wae, and they said it
was in the mountains to the north, in Ende.
614 They seemed to think it was matrilineal too. I
582 then asked about clan exogamy and they said
178 that Mohammedanism was breaking it down, just
as had happened in Tulehu in Ambon. But as in
Ambon, clan exogamy is kept by the Christians
here.

583 Incidentally, the priest in Ndetosoko said
178 that the Catholics are in favor of keeping the
797 bride price, as it strengthens marriages.

We finally left, and the next morning the
124 kapitan of Gunung Rodja appeared without his
overseas cap. We got into the jeep and went to
Roworeke, but the kapitan there was again in the
garden. We went to kilometer 10 and saw the
kapitan with several men wading across the river
to the garden on the other side. We called him
back and he got in suspiciously and we then
drove back to his house. There he called the
kepala kampong of Watu Roga. This fellow was a
relative of his, an old man with an old sarong
and short betel teeth, who looked somewhat like
a Toradja. Later he called the djurutulis
[scribe].

I gave a long sales talk and the kapitan
124 warmed up. The kapitan of Gunung Rodja helped
634 out and was quite enthusiastic. He is evidently
632 a powerful man, but the Controleur says that the

632 and the kapitan lives in Roworeke.

103 Roworeke means: rowo is a bandjir river, dry
in the dry season, and one can see this plainly;
reke, a kind of red fruit. Watu Roga means a
kind of soft stone. The scribe who will become
115 my assistant is a mild looking little fellow, of
the suku Ambu Odja, and of the kampong Roworeke.
He is married, however, into the kampong Watu
Roga. His name is Adrianus Migo, and he is a
Catholic. In the kapitanschap Rewarangga there
632 are eighteen kampongs (the kapitanschap Gunung
622 Rodja has fifteen kampongs). In each there is
●614 a kepala kampong. There are also six main suku
in the kapitanschap: Rewarangga, Wanda, Ambu
Odja, Rea Ndona, Tibo (or Gusa), and Ambu Tara.
There are members of other suku in the kapitanschap,
but they are not old inhabitants. They
[171] have moved in (like the "newcomer non-dati" fams
of the Ambon negri). The kapitan of Rewarangga
were formerly of suku Rewarangga, but after
three of these in succession the kapitan passed
into suku Ambu Odja, and there have been four of
these. Thus about seven generations are accounted
[173] for, or about two hundred years, but the man says
that Roworeke is at least four hundred to five
hundred years old. This may indicate that the
kapitan organization came in only about two hundred
years ago. It is not at all certain and I
must ask further questions about this kapitan
business.

632 The kapitan must be chosen from any of the
565 noble families of any of the five suku. In each
614 suku there are two families which are noble and
therefore may become kapitan. Generally the son
of a dead kapitan is chosen, but if he is not
satisfactory they may choose a kapitan from another
noble family of the same suku or from any
of the noble lineages of any of the other four
632 sukus. The big reason that the Rewerangga suku
614 lost the kapitanschap was that it had become al-

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632 most extinct, with only about twenty members.

614 The kapitan is elected by the orang besar of the eighteen kampongs in the kapitanschap.

634 The Radja of Ende is also elected, in this case by the orang besar of the whole state. This means that he is elected evidently by the kapitan. I must inquire further about this matter.

632 The present kapitan is a nephew of the former
578 kapitan. He was chosen because the son of the former kapitan was not satisfactory. I noted that as I asked about this there seemed to be some embarrassment and I wonder if perhaps there was not a little fuss attached to the selection of a new kapitan even in the past. This seems to bear out the evidence for a feud pattern of which I see so much at first glance in Flores. Anyway, both the radja and the kapitan are elected with a tendency to heredity in the male line. They are elected by the officers of the sections of their domain. It is similar to the electors of Goa.

583 They say that the bride price is necessary
614 for marriage, and that the price is really high.
476 They say that some people go bankrupt in order
237 to pay the bride price. Nevertheless, everyone
in the suku helps the man pay his bride price and
in turn all helpers are later helped. This bride
price is a clan affair. Formerly the price had to
[436] be paid in elephant tusks and in gold pieces
called wea. Now most of the tusks are gone be-
[727] cause they have been sold or stolen (during the
Japanese time). There are still quite a few of
the gold pieces left, however. There were hundreds
of thousands of tusks in Flores before. Sikka
used only very long ones, but in this area they
evidently used both long and short tusks. They
are remarkable and I must learn more about them.

614 Marriage is exogamous as far as suku are con-
582 cerned and residence is patrilocal. They did
[591]

●614 R They did
582 say, however, that Mohammedanism is tending to
178 break down this suku exogamy. Here in Roworeke,
however, the old adat is still strong and the
exogamous rule still holds. The young people
who have gone to school are beginning to rebel,
but the elders remain strong and hold to the
adat.

771 I asked about religion and they said that at
797 least fifty per cent of the people here are pagan.
Most of the rest are Christian, although there
are a few Mohammedans. The picture is the familiar one of the younger generation becoming
Christian while the older generation remains
pagan.

565 If I can believe the story about the nobility,
632 it looks as if there are about ten noble fami-
614 lies eligible to the kapitanschap in all Rewarangga, because there are five suku and about
two families of this nobility to each suku.

632 Then I got onto the subject of the officers.
In the kapitanschap there is the kapitan, and he
is assisted by a scribe, a mandur and an oppas.
Evidently these are a secretary, a sort of public works man, and a messenger--sheriff.

622 In the kampong the chief is the kepala kampong,
565 the ata nggaeh nua (ata nggaeh itself is a term
624 for noble). Some of these belong to the nobility
and others not (I must find out more about this).
The assistant to the kepala kampong is the oro
kuni. Then tere are four mosa laki, which seems
to them to be the equivalent to the tuan tanah
elsewhere. One of these is the main adat chief
(thus exactly like the tuan tanah) and he is
called the mosa laki mere, or mosa laki pu'u
(pu'u is the term for clan, and I must check on
this as it may be a survival of a purely genealogical localization of clans in a single kampong).
He may also be called merely by the term laki pu'u.
The three other mosa laki are: the giri tumba,
624 the ndeto au, and the sikesani. The giri tumba

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624 in the Lio mountain kampongs is called the wiwi-
ria lama lewa, or, as van Suchtelen^1 says, "big
mouth long tongue". He is like a talking chief.
632 The kapitan and the kepala kampong (as well
622 as the mandur of the kapitan, who on second
624 thought may prove to be a kind of assistant
614 kapitan; and the oro kuni) are clearly adminis-
trative officers, and are not "adat chiefs."
The true adat chief is the mosa laki mere (as
well as the other three mosa laki). This in-
dicates that the kapitan and the kepala kampong,
territorial chiefs, are of a later date, and the
old chief was the tuan tanah or mosa laki mere.
Since the latter is also called laki pu'u, and
pu'u means suku, it looks as though before the
territorial organization, they had only localized
clans. Thus they have the dual division of
chiefs into the administration--territory and
into the adat--genealogical. Going on, I found
693 excellent substantiation of this in that a big
632 case, involving murder or big theft, etc., for
624 example the case in which the Dutch government
614 was interested (a law case, as it were) is judged
622 by the kapitan with the assistance of the four
kepala kampong chosen for him for that case. In
a small case, however, involving adat, judgment
is made only within the kampong (thus adat cases
involve the kampong, which comes before the clan,
I think). And the judges are the mosa laki mere,
acting as chairman, the giri tumba, the ndeto au,
and the sike sani. It looks as though the old
localized clans were ruled by this quadrivirate.
And, these four are completely hereditary. Thus
even in succession they have the genealogical
principle. It comes out clearly in these four
adat chiefs. I must find out from which suku
these officers come.

614 I asked about the present localization of the
suku, and they seemed to agree that the suku are
still largely settled in certain clusters. They

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[1] [See p.90 of van Suchtelen as cited in bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

614 are somewhat moved around, however, and are even scattered, so that one may find parts of a suku in entirely different areas. I must check on this.

624 As for the four adat chiefs, aside from the mosa laki mere, who sits in the center when judging, the giri tumba (whose name means "spear running around") stands or sits to the right of the mosa laki mere. The ndeto au, who is an [791] expert on making adat stuff which I judge to be ordeal material or magical divining, sits or stands to the left of the mosa laki mere. The sike sani acts as a watchman or policeman. I must get the full account of the functions of these men.

701 Then I asked if they had had war leaders formerly and they said yes. They are called "brave men" or atambani (ata-m-bani or orang brani). They said that they were fierce and feared.

793 789 171 Then I asked about the priests, and they said that they still have plenty of them. They are called bisa mari. I got the usual story of how they prove their powers of second sight, and it sounded just like the Ambonese talking about guna-guna. These priests are not hereditary, and never were, but the sons usually learn their lore from their fathers.

648 175 There is much talk here about war with the Dutch and I am told that there were uprisings all over Flores in the year 1907. I was also told of the stern methods of suppression used in those times and how afterwards there was wholesale jailing of the Florenese. They seem to have lost their nerve then and today they no longer rebel.

773 769 I asked about the old myths concerned with ancestors. The Kapitan Gunung Rodja, who is descended from Djari Djawa, the Madjapahit man who came here on a whale, told a different version

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764 burial as unhygienic. The commoners always
565 buried their dead simply. Funeral feast costs
often bankrupted the relatives of the radja. I
must find out how the funerals are run now.
Perhaps they merely bury the dead. I remember
that I heard one fellow call the tombs in the
plaza "old" ones.

776 They knew about nitu and dewa and moyang, and
there must be plenty of pagan beliefs here, even
among the Catholics.

872 There is a mission school here in the kampong.

[797] The assistant has finished five grades of
schooling in Ndona.

291 The clothes here consist of a sarong for the
178 men (old style) although this is changing fast,
a sloppy sarong worn even up to the shoulders
for women, and a closed, v-neck blouse, also
[302] worn by the women. The latter have a peculiar
topknot coiffure. The sarongs are made by women,
286 and many people are presently weaving on back bar
531 looms. The colors are mainly bluish and the designs
are mostly small.

527 Tomorrow is the Flag Day of the Republic, and
I will instruct the assistant in the pasanggrahan.
124 Sunday I will explore the kampong. As usual, they
have a holiday whenever there is the slightest
excuse for one.

622 One thing I did not ask about, but which I
must find out about later, is how the kepala kampong
is elected or chosen.

693 Also I forgot to say that there were some re-
624 marks about how, in an adat case, where the four
622 mosa laki are judges, the kepala kampong may
565 "mix in" but may not judge. Also, he may mix in
only if he is of the bangsawan. This evidently
means that some kepala kampongs are bangsawan
and others are not. I must get this kepala kampong
picture straight.

614 The main suku in Watu Roga is Wanda, and the
main one in Roworeke is Odja. Aside from the

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614 main suku there are several others in Rewarangga,
but they have moved in and are not original suku.
But any one of them may be given land and become
in effect "members" of the communities. Thus
Tibo is a suku which has virtually entered
Roworeke. Later I got some kind of an explanation
that it was formerly a kampong on the hill
above there, but has now moved into a section of
Roworeke. In fact, I saw this section, with
only about three houses, and it is called Kopoedo.
Among the suku which are "foreign" in Rewarangga
are Ambu Djawa, Ambu Nduru, and Ambu Rutu. Ambu
means grandfather.

624 Later I got more information about the mosa
632 laki. Evidently in the kapitanschap there are
four big mosa laki: mosa laki mere, giri tumba,
ndeto au, and sike sani. Then, in each kampong
there are four with the same names, but they are
on a lower level even though their functions are
the same. I met the mig mosa laki mere and giri
tumba of Rewarangga. They were old fellows,
dignified, dressed in adat clothes, and most refreshing
in contrast to the modernized Catholics
like the kapitan and the guru. They are polite
and quiet. I got the impression that maybe most
[887] of the mosa laki are older men. They are probably
mainly if not all pagan too, and probably mainly
illiterate.

614 Talking with the kapitan and the scribe and a
582 few other lads later, I learned that suku exogamy
is not necessary if there is enough distance between
the relatives. Thus the kapitan is married
to a fellow-Odja. They noted, however, in my
questioning, that most people seem to have married
exogamously.

527 The second day was the Flag Day, and I took
129 ten fellows in the jeep from Roworeke. After the
ritual, which was not very impressive (the Sikka
radja made a speech with little grace), we went
123 with Ariens (the Controleur) on a ride to Nanga-

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778 They agreed that Ndoeria had rebuilt many rumah
pemali. I must go there sometime.

574 Back in Roworeke, the kapitan gave us sweet
soft drinks and port wine (Chinese). Then he put
291 on his adat dress, including a batik headcloth
386 which was winged in front, and a fine ikat slen-
[287] dang, and a woven sarong. There seems to be no
more tapa around here. The colors of the woven
and ikat stuff are dark, including blue, black,
and dull red. They are not very attractive, and
the cloth is quite heavy. I saw women with bas-
kets full of leafy stuff (small leaves) and I
asked what was inside. They said tarum [indigo]
and that it is used to make the blue and black
dye. Thus they still use locally made dyes,
but in Roworeke the red dye is bought in a store.

126 I took a picture of the kapitan and his wife
and family including the fine type old mother.
621 We then started on a tour of the kampong. We
went first across the road to Watu Roga. It is
small and evidently most of the Wanda suku are.
342 There is one large house, but most of the others
178 are rather small. They are not of the high
pitched roof type. I was told that before the
war there were more of the old high roof type,
but the Japanese leveled many of them to make the
people move into the hills as they said the popu-
lation was too dense near the town. I can't
quite get the point, but new houses tend to be
low, four sloped roofed, rather long and squat
in type, but still look primitive because of the
alang-alang thatched roof and many with the coco-
nut leaf midrib walls. The walls, however, are
usually low or invisible because they are under
the low-hanging roof. Hence they are hooded.

349 In Watu Roga there is a high concrete struc-
769 ture looking something like a watchtower with
● 614 steps leading up. It has a four-sloped tin roof.
766 There is a low wall around a small rectangular
space under the roof. The flooring is of tile,

349 and in the corner is a long wooden drum used in
769 certain ceremonies. Most amazing, however, is
614 a box under the roof and set on planks across
766 beams. This box is covered with old ikat clothes
and measures about 3x2x2 feet. In it are the
bones of the great ancestor of the Wanda suku.
The kapitan said they are "hundreds of years"
old. When they have a suku feast, hundreds of
people come here and kill buffaloes and dance and
sing and pray, asking the ancestors for favors.
They do not call them but call on them. All
764 around[1] are the stone heap and slab graves of
lesser folk. Bodies put in them are bound in the
knee-to-chest posture. They often are too small
to allow lying down anyway. I was told that many
are placed in one cist, and new bodies are put in
by lifting the slab and moving the old bones over.

286 I saw a back-bar loom and two women spinning
126 on primitive wheels from cotton fluff. It is
181 impressive and the threads they make are good.
One old and one young woman were so employed. I
started to take a photograph of the old one and
a young lady came up and said that she was his
mother and that if I took a photograph of her I
had to give him one too. I closed the camera and
went away. These are the least agreeable folk I
have met yet in Indonesia. Still there are plenty
of fine people here. Nevertheless, they are not
uniformly polite as, for example, are most of the
Buginese.

181 We then got out of Watu Roga, leaving
126 discontent, it seemed, as we had taken photographs but
given none to the people as we had done across
the road in Roworeke. I get the impression that
the Watu Roga folk are a bit antagonistic possibly
to the people in Roworeke. I also suspect that
these Ende people are aggressive and competitive
and grasping anyway.

621 Then we went around the sections of Roworeke.
These are, so far as I can get them up to now:

[1] [i.e., Watu Roga.—Analyst]

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621 Nuamere (the kapitan's house is located here), Pudjambu, Aiboü, Aiutu, Roworeke proper (the original kampong after they moved down from the negri lama), Kopoëdo (all Tibo suku, and small), and Wolomere. Thus there are seven. To the south, below Aiutu and Wolomere, is an open land stretching out toward Ende, on which various mixed folk have settled sparsely. The Roworeke [778] sections run up hill gradually from the road to the west, and the negri lama is located high above. All are on the west side of the road except the far south Wolomere, where the secretary lives. Wolomere is on the Watu Roga side of the road. There is an offshoot of Watu Roga on the Roworeke side. This is Paudari, and most, if not all, here are of the Wanda suku.

764 In Nuamere there is one high-roofed house, near the kapitan's. And here is a large concrete tomb set high above the houses. In the upper part, and alone, is the body of the kapitan who died in 1939. In the large lower part are tens of bodies of the Odja suku. When a new body is to be put in, an earthen section is dug up, which exposes an opening in the concrete tomb. The bones are pushed back and the body placed in and the earth replaced (are these bound in the knee-to-chest position?). There are many other rougher stone tombs which the kapitan said contain tens of bodies also. They do not know how many are contained in some of them as they are so old and have been used for so long.

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Then we went to Pudjambu, the next place, and it is like a small separate kampong by itself. Then we went to another, rather farther off and up on the rising stone-faced levels. It was fine. This was the Roworeke proper, the ancestral kampong whence all others spread after moving down from the negri lama. It is a very fine place and I took a photograph. Here there is a high-set roofed tower like the Wanda one, and on planks

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349 set on the rafters a similar chest with bones of
766 the old ancestor of the Odja suku. I was told
769 that this has been there for hundreds of years,
614 but then it was reckoned that it had been there
621 for at least seven generations. It too was
covered with ikat clothing. There was no drum
in this one. They said that when the ancestor
suku feast is held, hundreds of people gather
here and buffaloes are killed, as was true in
the other place. All around are many other stone
cist tombs, all graves of descendants of the big
342 Odja. There are some high houses here, but most
of them are lower in construction.

286 In Padjambu we saw many women spinning and
weaving. One girl was pressing cotton fluff on
a primitive wooden wringer arrangement in order
to flatten it before spinning. It looked just
like an old-fashioned clothes wringer. We saw
an old woman preparing the loom threads in the
first stage of ikat work. The white threads were
wrapped with fiber windings. We saw several ikat
sarongs, all of which were heavy and dull in
[435] color. The kapitan said that I could buy one for
[181] fl. 150.00 and another for fl. 250.00. This
again shows the grasping character of these folk.

123 I forgot to say that the kapitan wants to go
to Larantuka with us. I refused to let him go
along. Also, at the Odja ancestral bone bundle
tower an old mother said we had to leave an offering. We left some cigarettes. Perhaps they
wanted money.

286 These ikat things are all over. I don't like
386 them very much, but they are genuine. The cotton
531 is grown locally and is pressed and spun. The
dyes are blue and black and are made from indigo
leaves. The ikat work is done with ties of fiber.
[438] Indeed, the only trade material used here is the
red dye they buy in the stores. They also weave
regular cloth, but the colors are always dull.
The designs are small and indecisive.

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578 nature of these people. He said there are many
632 boundary disputes and have been many in the past.
144 Now I see the truth of the racial mixture zone
here. All types are represented.

●614 I get the impression that the suku were originally localized largely if not entirely. This
is still so. Thus one part will be all or
nearly all Odja, another similarly Wanda, another Tibo, etc.

591 I met a lad in Roworeke proper who is from a
kampong which is rather far off. They said he
had married a woman of Roworeke, and I thought
perhaps this might be a case of ambil anak.
This is not the case, however, and he had merely
come there for a day, because his wife has land
here. They live in his kampong. Residence is
patrilocal usually. Kattenburg remarked that in
178 material culture and in level of living the young
578 people are not much different from the old. They
561 do wear different clothes, however, and as he
says, in general outlook, religion, knowledge of
and adherence to old thoughts and ways and religion, they differ. There must be an intergenerational conflict here, especially as they
are so disputatious anyway. I must check on
this.

344 The next day we^set out early and got them to
217 let us work in the office. This is an amazing
124 place, with cocoanut stalk walls and a dirt floor.
In one room (they are all empty of furniture),
scattered on the floor, are the "files" of the
kapitanschap. Some of them are in paper boxes
and others are just on the dirt. They call the
kapitanschap the "gemeente." We sat on the front
"porch" on chairs that almost collapsed and at a
table that leaned loosely at an alarming angle
and slowly leaned more and more until it seemed
impossible that it would keep from collapsing.
124 With us was the giri tumba of Rewarangga and
later the kepala kampong (ata nggaeh nua) of Woro-

^[i.e., Kennedy & Kattenburg--Analyst]

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		My Spelling	Kapitan's spelling
632	13.	Pu'umbindi	Poeoe Mbindi
621	14.	Mbago	Mbgko (?)
	15.	Pemodjera	Pemo Djera
	16.	Volofeo	Wolo Feo
	17.	Bu'ube'i	Boeoebei
	18.	Sokopedji	Soko Pedji

The w and v are, or seem to be, separate, but the spelling here seems to indicate that they are the same. F, however, is separate. Of the eighteen, Roworeke and Worowai used to be (up until the Japanese time) together, but now they are separate kampongs. I wonder if this did not happen before so recently. Also the three (Vavoeü, Ratebedi, and Kekambero) were once one, named Rabu. This is still used evidently once in a while for their general area. We got onto the
624 matter of the mosa laki, and it develops that in-
632 deed there are the Big Four for the gemeente, and in addition there is a Little Four in each kampong. The Big Four, however, are also the Little Four of both Roworeke and Worowai. Thus the mosa laki mere of Rewarangga is also the mosa laki mere of both Roworeke and Worowai. He lives in Worowai. The giri tumba of Rewarangga is also the giri tumba of the kampongs Roworeke and Worowai. He lives in Roworeke. The ndeto au of Rewarangga is also the giri tumba of the kampongs Roworeke and Worowai. He lives in Worowai. The sike sani of Rewarangga is also the sike sani of the kampongs Roworeke and Worowai. He lives in Worowai. The kampong combination is because Roworeke and Worowai were still one kampong until recently.

624 Each of the other sixteen kampongs has its own
622 Little Four. Also, each kampong of the eighteen has a kepala kampong or ata nggaeh nua, and his assistant, the oro kuni.

● 614 In each kampong there seems to be one suku

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614 which is the main one and the largest. In most cases this may also be the oldest one. This does not hold for Roworeke, where the main one is Odja, but the original one was the now nearly extinct Rewarangga. Anyway, they knew that Odja was the main one in Roworeke, Reandona the main one in Manunggo'o, and beyond this they did not know the situation in other kampongs. They said [829] that they would have to ask each kepala kampong. This shows how little they know about anything beyond their own village. Even the kapitan, who is head of the whole eighteen kampongs, did not know this.

624 The giri tumba of Rewarangga, who is head giri tumba of all the others, didn't even know the personal names of the other sixteen giri tumba.

693 If there is a small adat case, the Little Four sit for the judgment, but they tell the Big Four of the local kampong of the decision. Thus they have a kampong court for little cases and a gemeente council of the Big Four for bigger ones.

632 624 We got into a terrific muddle about how a new kapitan is chosen. When an old one dies, all eighteen kepala kampong come together and also the Big Four and the mosa laki mere of the other sixteen kampongs. The giri tumba, ndeto au, and sike sani of the other sixteen kampongs may come, but evidently they have no voice in the matter. Thus the electoral college includes eighteen kepala kampongs, mosa laki mere Rewarangga, giri tumba Rewarangga (Odja), ndeto au Rewarangga, sike sani Rewarangga, and the mosa laki mere of the other sixteen kampongs (excepting Roworeke and Worowai, whose Little Four are also the Big Four). Thus in all there are thirty-eight members of the electoral college. The manager of the convention is the giri tumba Rewarangga, who was sitting there. His other title (wiwiria, etc.) means "big mouth long tongue." He goes around and sounds out the opinion of all the others and

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632 then announces the chosen candidate. He has veto
624 power, and if he says no to a candidate, it is
final. The kapitan must come from either Re-
●[614] warangga or Odja suku. If all agree, and the
giri tumba also agrees, they may choose a man
from Reandona suku, but this has never happened.

[178] In the old days the kapitan happened always
632 to be from Rewarangga suku, but recent ones have
565 been from Odja. If the present kapitan dies,
614 there would be about ten eligible candidates. I
611 think this means ten from Odja. These include
171 the sons of the old kapitan plus others from
eligible families. But there are over a hundred
families in Odja. Thus only certain families
are of the bangsawan high enough to be eligible
for kapitan. I could not get it straight who
these families are, but evidently they represent
the descendants of the great ancestor of the suku
Odja in the direct male line. This is always via
the oldest son. Thus the oldest branch of the
oldest branch, etc., as in Polynesia.

I asked if there was a name for the set of
613 noble kapitan families in Odja, and they finally
565 said, after much argument, Djo'bi Bene. To this
632 "lineage" belong the present kapitan, the scribe,
and the giri tumba. The kapitan came in and gave
the family tree of the lineage. So far as I
could see, it ran:

1. Neni
2. Djata
3. Odja
4. Koru Rudja
5. Djo'bi Bene

Thus these are the next ones to Djo'bi Bene.
I must come back again and find out exactly who
Djo'bi Bene was, and where his grave is located,
[124] etc. This was frustrating, and I could not get
it straight at first. I was always worried about
the loss of time in such slow questioning.

R

000 the loss of time in such slow questioning.

632 There has been much fighting in the past over
578 the election of a kapitan. In the case of a
634 deadlock the radjas have stepped in and settled
●614 it, but this is dangerous because sometimes the
624 people have refused to accept such an imposed
choice. Again I see the troubles and feuds around
here. The rivalry seems to be between
suku. For example, they said that Reandona suku
has always been trying to get into the kapitan
position, but has never succeeded. I wonder if
perhaps the mosa laki were not once actually
suku chiefs. I asked the old giri tumba about
this and he agreed but probably didn't understand
me. And yet there seems to be a connection. Before
[178] the Dutch came, they say that the mosa laki
mere was the kapitan and the giri tumba the kepala
kampong of Roworeke. Thus the mosa laki
mere was the top man and the giri tumba was the
kampong chief. As for the other two (ndeto au
and sike sani) they said that there were these
offices too in the old days.

773 Then I tried to get onto the subject of the
173 old origin legends in Roworeke. They said that
614 long ago before the Dutch came the mosa laki mere
here was of the suku Rewarangga; the giri tumba
was of the suku Odja; the ndeto au was of the
suku Nggonggora'ba, and they did not know the
suku of the sike sani. This mention of Nggonggora'ba
led me to ask about the whole business.

The kapitan started the story. In the beginning
there were five siblings who came from Java, four
brothers and one sister. The four brothers were
Rewarangga, Reandona, Nggonggora'ba, and Gasiradja.
The sister was Djedjedjo. The last went
to Nggobe. Gasiradja went to a mountain kampong
in the gemeente of Nggobe. The kampong was named
Woroapo. Rewarangga settled in Roworeke, and he
was the eldest brother and the most powerful of
the siblings. Reandona took over authority in

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173 Manunggo'o (where this suku still remains the
173 principal suku). Nggonggora'ba took over
● 614 authority in Worowai, and there are still members of this suku there. Then the Odja suku entered the area from Rabu (at present three kampongs; 9, 10, 11 in the above list on page 29). Then the Tibo suku entered from Koavena and settled on the hill Wolowaru above Roworeke. This was later abandoned, and they came down and settled in the sections of Roworeke called Aibou̇̈ and Kopoëdo. Thus at that time there were five main suku (maybe only these five) in the area: Rewarangga in Roworeke; Reandona in Manunggo'o; Nggonggora'ba in Worowai; and the two new suku, Odja in Roworeke and Tibo in Wolowaru. The posts
[624] held by these suku were:

1.	Rewarangga:	Mosa laki mere of Roworeke.
2.	Reandona:	Mosa laki mere of Manunggo'o.
3.	Nggonggora'ba:	Mosa laki mere of Worowai.
4.	Odja:	Giri tumba of Roworeke.
5.	Tibo:	Ata nggaeh nua of Roworeke.

The other officers were also present, but it is unclear as to what suku they came from.

632 624 614 It can be seen that the kapitan descended from the mosa laki mere of Roworeke, and this is in the suku Rewarangga (probably when the kapitanschap was created, Roworeke was made the capital and the mosa laki mere of it was made the kapitan of the new district). Later on, when Rewarangga nearly died out, Odja, the suku of the old giri tumba of Roworeke, took over the kapitan position. The giri tumba is still from Odja. The Reandona suku, descended from the second of the four brothers, is one of the eligible. What has happened, however, to the Nggonggora'ba suku seems to be a kind of eclipse. I must look into this later in Worowai.

000 notable.
797 The church in Riangkamiĕ is built with refer-
177 ence to the four ritual sibs of Kottang, Hurin,
346 Keleng, and Marang. This is an example of the
● [614] rule used: anything of a social nature is all
right, but if it is of a religious nature and
related to the old spirits or ghosts, etc.,
Catholicism won't take it. This is like the
[171] death feasts in the Toradja country, where the
Protestants will let the Christians go to these
social rites but not to the great exorcism
rites. Thus the Catholics here are not allowed
to go to the old rites on the nama in front of
the korke, but as the priest admitted, it is
hard for the folk here to see the difference,
and they tend to regard these retained aspects
of paganism as full paganism because they are
symbols of the whole pagan system.

797 He told much that was interesting. There is
178 in paganism here a need for a girl to be the
243 rice maiden for the fertility rites (Vatter[1]
796 tells the story too), and the old adat chiefs
insisted in one kampong that at least one girl
should not be converted, as at least one is
needed to be the rice maiden. This shows the
desperate plight of paganism. They must beg to
have something vital allowed to remain. "Give
us one only," they ask. He said it is true that
just about all of the young people are Catholic,
but many of the old remain pagan.

We
[771] Later, in Wailolong the guru Roy said there
are few, but very few young people who are pagan.
578 He told us about a war in which a man was killed
411 yesterday. It was a border war between Leloba
and Waibalun and the police had to stop it.
They fight these wars all the time, with bow and
spear and knife. I asked if maybe it were not
511 because they were hungry and need land. And
[578] hunger and misery cause aggression anyway. He
denied this, but I think it is true, especially

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

304 was more common formerly. The tattooing occurs
on the arms, face, and chest. In Tandjung Bunga
there is a lot of tattooing. Sometimes this is
done on the back of the calves too. The young
people do it no longer. However, the guru's
daughter has her name tattooed on her arm.

342 The houses have upright sticks at the ridge
ends, but the guru says this is of no significance.

764 Stones called nubanara are all over the kampong,
lying flat mainly. I wonder if maybe these
could have been used for graves in this kampong
before, because the nubanara are scattered like
the graves in Ende.

346 At the top of the kampong is the korke of the
178 kampong, and in front is a nama, or rectangular
535 dance place. This consists of a platform built
368 up of stones. Some of the stones should stand
(four, one for each of the main suku; but the
guru says there may be more than four standing).
This appears in Vatter's ^ photo of another nama.
These former uprights here have fallen down and
he says the people do not bother to erect them
again. This is a sign of the steady breakdown
of paganism. On the dance place there is an old
drum left standing. It is evidently no longer
used. The korke is empty, and has merely a bale-bale
under a roof. No walls are left. The roof
has not been repaired, which again may show the
breakdown. Near the korke is a large house of
[614] the tuan tanah of the main suku, and near this
is the korke of his suku. In addition to the
kampong korke, there is one for each suku, but no
nama in front of these. These korke are used by
the kepala suku, who is also the tuan tanah of
the suku, for suku rites regarding rain illness,
etc. The main korke is used for kampong rites.
[574] When a feast is thus given, the big men sit on
the bale-bale in the korke, and the dancers perform
[534] in front to the music of a drum and gong.

^ [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

797 stead they nearly always use the term Orang
Katolik or Orang Serani. The usual pattern
seems to be recurring, the Protestants not being
accepted as of the same religion in any way.
797 The mission headquarters has a large building
346 for priests (there are always three here, but
874 others come to rest and get supplies), several
793 workshops (where boys who are dormitoried on the
grounds learn woodworking, machine work, etc.),
a lower and a following school of five grades
with one thousand pupils in which boys and girls
are kept separate (boys and girls from other
islands sleep in dormitories), a household
school, a laundry, a library, etc. It is really
a great plant. There are four brothers of a
"working" type here, who run the workshops and
handle the technical education, including one
Pole who was interned during the war. He speaks
[792] Dutch with an accent. There are many nuns here,
and they also help in the small government hospital.
Evidently all or nearly all the schools
in this area are "government," but they are
really run by the mission. I haven't found out
exactly how the system works yet. The Mission
is ingenious. There is an old tractor which is
used for lathe power, an old Japanese machine
used for electricity, etc. They have a very
large coffee plantation on the road to Maumeri
and it looks good.

797 It is remarkable that such a great number of
priests and nuns are here in this miserable spot,
which can never be any good. Maybe they regard
it as a sure foothold in a Mohammedan area, a
foothold which may later be expanded.

244 There are practically no vegetables except
262 tubers here, and fruit is rare. So is all other
food.

582 The suku marriage custom is evidently still
614 in force, and I will work on it in detail.

578 It is notable that there are so many border
721

We
000 trols this atomism.

124 The next day we went to the kampong, stopping
212 at Mudakaputu, and Watuwiti, and other places on
115 the way. These all seemed less good than Wailolong. For example, Riangkamië had only two suku;
others had none or only one korke, etc. At
Leloba, the guru had another guru with him, and
said that we must use him as he was not so good
at writing. Then I asked about whether or not
it might not be a good idea to use an assistant
who lives in Wailolong, but they said nobody
there can write well because most of them have
attended only three grades of schooling. Then
we went to the district chief, the kakang, who
was formerly in Boschwesen, and who is a man with
good authority. He said he would order the
Wailolong folk to help and would put at my disposal a lad from Wailolong. Also, he said he
would order them to let us use one of the rumah
pemuda, or boys' houses, in Wailolong. We talked
at length about the situation and it seems that
there are really no people in Wailolong who are
able to write well.

773 We talked about the way the old stories are
178 dying out and the young people won't listen any
872 more. The guru Roy and a few old men only are
the ones who know very much. The guru is the
best, and he knows all of the ancestors back for
nineteen generations. He also complained about
how the schools do not have books about Indonesia
and the local affairs, but rather about Europe,
which the children cannot understand.

632 We had taken in the jeep a lot of kepala suku
622 and kepala kampong of Wailolong to the kakang
693 where they were to have a case hearing. It is
614 evidently a case concerned with marriage. The
kepala suku are clearly old style fellows. Several
[30] of the old men had long hair and necklaces and one
had a tattoo on his chest. The kakang gave a
614 speech ordering them to help us. Then we went to

614 882 562 [342] ~~We~~ Then we went to the boys' house in Wailolong, which turned out to be a windowless house with sleeping benches inside. Here the boys from about twelve years on sleep. Thus there is a real men's house here. There are three, I think, in Wailolong, because some of the suku share houses. Normally the rule is one house per suku. It is taboo for the girls to enter these men's houses.

124 Then we went to Leloba and began on the Vatter^ social organization material. They were delighted to see the Vatter book, especially Roy who noticed his name in it.

614 I started with the usual outline of groups and got the following list of suku and subdivisions and sub-subdivisions of the suku. I had told the guru yesterday that there must be a sub-subdivision, but he said no. He said he had thought it over and understood what I meant. The names [171] often have direct references to parts of a house, and thus it looks like, as in Ambon, there used to be one suku to one house. Thus Ama Marang Do(ng) Lau(ng) means (the last words) bale-bale laut, i.e., in the old days the ancestors used to sleep on the bale-bale part on the sea side of the ancestral house they shared with the other division. Therefore, Ama Marang Do(ng) Rae(ng), which means bale-bale darat, or the bale-bale on the land side, was for the other division. The former has more power than the latter.

614 565 788 As for the recurring Lango' Bele', it means big house, while the twin term Lango' Kene' means small house. The former is the section of the subsib or ama, with more power. The latter is the section with less power. Maki(ng) means descendants. The whole system has reference to the rank of the sibs, which is symbolized in ritual animal killing. Thus Kottang holds the head and is the chiefly or head suku normally. The symbol is the head. Keleng holds the feet, and they are the assistant suku to the head.

^[See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

War

● 614 There is no use of a head without feet. At
788 least this is the idea. They are the leg men
565 of the head. The Hurint cuts the head off, and they also cut or finish or decide cases. Thus the double entendre words which seem to prevail in this language come to light. Also the Hurint do the praying, and in the old days the priests were from this suku as well as were the judges. The Marang passed around and still pass around sirih, or perhaps coffee today, at the rites. The Marang also acts as general helper so that if any of the other three have trouble with the beast he rushes in to aid. The function is symbolized not quite so clearly as for the other three, but the social system is symbolized in ritual which in turn reflects a system of rank and function.

632 I heard another thing which should be inter-
614 esting to follow up. The kakang is a Leboba man
583 from one of the Kottang subsibs. His sib (one
576 of the two Belepe Lolong, and must be Lango'
431 Bele' as he has much power) gives women to the guru's sib (Ama Hurint Ola Demo[ng] Lango' Bele') and must be given fowl by the latter. The latter gets women from the former, and gets fish from the former too. Thus fowl and fish form a gift exchange following the marriage exchange system. Evidently the sib that gets the women gives the fowl, and the one that gives the women also gives the fish. Could this be again the serpent and the dove? The kakang said that if he went to the guru's house and there happened to be some fowl cooking there, he must get some, or it would be a terrible breach of respect and much shame would be felt. I think this is correct, but I must check it later.

194 The peculiar nasal end sound indicated by
[114] the parentheses in my orthography is hard to get and Vatter[1] messes it up. The guru says it is hard even for a man from Larantuka town to say it.

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

000 say it.

621 There are three levels in the organization:
614 the kampong, the suku, and the ama (subsuku). There may also be sub-subsuku, but there is no term for this. The chief of the kampong is the kepala kampong (I must get the local term for this). There is also the kepala suku (but I have yet to get the local term for this). The subsib or ama chief is called the kelake. One man may have all three ranks in any one given case, but in another case may have only one or two. For example, the guru is the kepala suku of Hurint and also kelake of the Ola Demo(ng) Maki(ng). The kepala kampong of Leloba, however, has no other rank.

Thus the system is as follows:

I. Ama Kottang
   1. Belepe Lolong (Buto Talu Maki[ng])
      (a) Belepe Lolong Lango' Bele' (big house, big power)
      (b) Belepe Lolong Lango' Kene' (small house, small power)
   2. Waktuka(ng)
   3. Ama Marang
      (a) Ama Marang Do(ng) Lau(ng) (bale-bale sea side, big)
      (b) Ama Marang Do(ng) Rae(ng) (bale-bale land side, small)

II. Ama Keleng
   1. Tuakerura
   2. Ama Belemang

III. Ama Hurint
   1. Ama Waru'i(ng)
   2. Eramolik
   3. Ola Demo(ng) Maki(ng)
      (a) Ola Demo(ng) Maki(ng) Lango' Bele'
      (b) Ola Demo(ng) Maki(ng) Lango' Kene'

IV. Lewodoreng
   1. Lewamaki(ng)
      (a) Lewamaki(ng)

621 (b) Lewamaki(ng) Nipatale' (slaves before)
614 2. Ekimaki(ng)
● V. Lewonuhah
1. Lewonuhah Ama Kottang
2. Lewonuhah Ama Keleng

[567] Note the slave group which is worth later investigation. Note also the Ama Marang inside the Ama Kottang. Usually this is separate, but here it is assimilated to the Kottang. Note that the Ama Kottang and the Ama Keleng subdivisions of Lewonuhah are listed. The latter was once a separate kampong and the two subdivisions were suku in it. Lewo means kampong.

614 The people here refer to the "sixteen kelake" and there are sixteen groupings. Thus there are sixteen kepala ama. But actually there are only twelve kelake or kepala ama, in addition to the five suku chiefs. Some of the latter are double positions as is the kepala ama also, and they may even be kepala kampong at the same time. Anyway, the kelake are as follows:

I. 1. (a and b). Belepe Lolong
2. Waktuka
3. (a and b). Ama Marang
II. 1. Tuakerura
2. Ama Belemang
III. 1. Ama Waru'i(ng)
2. Eramolik
3. (a and b). Ola Demo(ng) Maki(ng)
(he also is the kepala suku Hurint, that is, guru Roy)
IV. 1. (a and b). Lewamaki(ng)
(he is also the kepala suku)
2. Ekimaki(ng)
V. 1. Ama Kottang
(he is also the kepala suku)
2. Ama Keleng

Thus of the five suku chiefs, three are also

614 ama chiefs. As for the marriage rules, many of
582 them are based on the old marriage relations
835 which were complicated by ritual stuff. He
684 talks a lot about how such and such cannot marry
so and so because his group is an older or a younger brother of the latter. This could stand further investigation. Anyway, marriages are as follows:

Men of	Marry Women of
I-1a	IV, V-2
I-1b	II-2, III, (I-2) (note)
I-2	II-1, IV, V
I-3a	IV
I-3b	III-2, III-3a, III-3b
II-1	I-1a, III
II-2	I-3b, IV
III-1	I-3b, IV
III-2	I-1a, I-2, I-3a, V
III-3a	I-1a, I-2, I-3a, II-2
III-3b	I-2, I-3a, IV, V
IV-1a	I-1b, II-1, III-3a
IV-1b	I-1b, II-1, III-3a
IV-2	I-1b, II-1, III-3a
V-1	I-1b, II-1, III-3a
V-2	I-1b, II-1, III-3a

[583] The notable case of a marriage inside a suku
[178] started three generations ago when a man of I-1b
wanted to marry a woman of I-2 (Ama Kottang Belepe Lolong Lango' Kene' and Waktuka(ng), thus. This was heavily taboo, but the man wanted the woman badly and the men of Waktuka(ng) said that if he paid a terrific bride price he could have her. This was done, not without some fuss, and ever since it has been possible to do this without paying the terrific price because the ice
582 was broken. All know that it is a terrible
614 thing, however. I expressed horror and asked
835 whether these two groups weren't having bad trou-
684 bles because of the curse of incest. The guru
688

582 614 835 684 [688] said yes, it had caused great misfortune. I told about the evils of breaking the pela and fam rules in Ambon, and he burst out with a speech about how much worse it is to commit an adat sin than it is to commit a religious sin. The latter hurts a man only when he faces God, and it may be washed away before he dies. But the former makes a man an outcast all his life, shunned and marked, and the curse afflicts his crops, children, and everything. This was a guru serani speaking!

The women run as follows (incidentally he says he knows of a case of the same sort of incest from Wailolong, which I will get tomorrow). (In the old days punishment for breaking marriage rules consisted of expulsion from the suku, ripping off of clothes, and even the death penalty.)

Women of	Marry Men of
I-1a	II-2, III-2, III-3a
I-1b	IV, V
I-2	III-2, III-3a, (I-1b) (note)
I-3a	III-2, III-3a, III-3b
I-3b	II-2, III-1
II-1	I-2, IV, V
II-2	I-1b, II-1
III-1	I-1b, II-1
III-2	I-1b, I-3b, II-1
III-3a	I-1b, I-3b, II-1, IV, V
III-3b	I-1b, I-3b, II-1
IV-1a	I-1a, I-2, I-3a, II-2, III-1, III-3b
IV-1b	I-1a, I-2, I-3a, II-2, III-1, III-3b
IV-2	I-1a, I-2, I-3a, II-2, III-1, III-3b
V-1	I-2, III-2, III-3b
V-2	I-1a, I-2, III-2, III-3b

In the evening I tried to make some sense out of this but got nowhere. I can see that marriage is never reciprocal anyway.

000 of this but got nowhere. I can see that marriage is never reciprocal anyway.

582 The next day I questioned the guru about this,
583 and after a long talk about kinship, which re-
237 vealed that the mother's brother's daughter type
● 614 of marriage is a regular type of thing, he came
621 out with the classic statement that usually the
tusks come back to the original payer in three moves. Thus, ideally this is a three-class, mother's brother's daughter, rotating system. However, the route of the tusks may be longer, involving up to twenty moves before they return to the original giver. But they try to make the circle as fast as possible, doing it in three moves if they can. Naturally, this is not always possible. We examined some cases of possible long routes, and he said it might be true that it would take up to twenty moves before the tusks returned. They try never to let the tusks go outside the kampong, and this may be why probably there is not much extrakampong marriage. But even if they did, they could close the circle by careful planning. He said, just as Wouden[1] might, that the mother's brother's daughter marriage and the bride price and the sib system are all part of a complete system. We will have more of this later.

114 Today, Friday, December 23, we started in on the Vatter[2] book which the mission lent to me. It is amazingly correct.

Among the corrections, etc., are the following:
[304] tattooing against illness is not done in Leloba;
[775] a tattoo mark is needed to be recognized on en-
tering the deadland; feather decorations are
[301] used only festively; the special woman's horse-
[302] tail coiffure is not used here any longer; cotton
[755] is not placed in the ears for illness (55)[2]; one
[614] of the sibs from Sina Djawa is Lewonuhah; the
[784] term suku wung is used here (74)[2] wung having the
sense of taboo.

[1] [See pp. 19-21, 85-88 of van Wouden as cited in bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

114 784 614 As Vatter[1] says, there are taboos of a totemic sort. Ama Hurint has a taboo on a kind of vegetable. Others are as given by Vatter. Vatter has a real error, however, in that there are only five suku, not six, because Marang is within Kottang.

582 835 177 Marriage with one's father's sister's sister [father's sister's daughter?] is taboo, as are marriages between parallel cousins. Mother's brother's daughter marriages are preferred, and this occurs regularly. It was interesting to note that the mother's brother's daughter marriage is considered taboo in Catholic communities. This was admitted, and no longer do Catholics
[836] here marry their real mother's brother's daughter unless the girl has become pregnant (this is evidently a fairly common occurrence, as it is mentioned freely). However, because of the classificatory system, it is possible to marry a mother's brother's daughter relative through the grandparents. Such a relative must be at least a fourth grade cousin to suit the Catholics. Thus they manage to maintain the old system and suit the Catholic demand.

601 Kinship terms are as follows:

father:	bapa
father's brother:	bosu
father's sister:	nona, kaka (male speaking); nona kaka, tia (female speaking) (Tia means mother-in-law
father's brother's son:	kaka aring (male speaking); na'a (female speaking)
father's brother's daughter:	bine (male speaking); kaka aring (female speaking)

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

601

	mother's brother's son (male speaking), (at one point, mother's sister's son)
opu:	father's sister's son (male speaking) (at two points, mother's sister's son [probably not][female speaking], and mother's brother's son [male speaking])
opu kesi(ng):	father's sister's daughter (male speaking)
nada:	father's sister's daughter (female speaking), mother's brother's daughter (female speaking)
dading:	mother's brother's son (female speaking), (at two points, mother's brother and mother's sister's son [male speaking])
blake:	father-in-law (male speaking), mother's brother (at one point, mother's brother's son [male speaking])
tiu:	father-in-law (female speaking), father's sister's husband (female speaking)
tia:	mother-in-law, father's sister (female speaking), mother's brother's wife (male speaking)
mure'bereung:	mother's brother's daughter (male speaking), father's sister's son (female speaking)
woru'i(ng):	older sibling
tukan dore(ng):	younger sibling
tuho wutung:	middle sibling

583 582 614 He said in regard to the circulation of the marriages that the mother's brother's daughter marriage is the thing that keeps the system going. It is this plus the exchange of the tusks. The sibs, subsibs, and sub-subsibs gear in too. There is much indirect exchange of wives, but it can't

582 be straight exchange. They must have one inter-
583 mediate move because of the mother's brother's
●614 daughter marriage. He sees this clearly, and
says that if one could marry a father's sister's
daughter they could have a straight exchange.
He says that they do this in Tandjung Bunga.
Vatter^ says this is not so. If they do not want
to give the tusks or they do not have them, they
can work out the bride price in a deal with two
other sib groupings so that A will give a girl
to B, B a girl to C, and C a girl to A. Thus
no tusks are needed, but they act as though the
tusks had actually made the rounds. It is all
done in their heads. They must plan this, as
not every combination will bring the exchange
back to the original sib grouping in three moves.
Of course, a more complicated deal can be made
with many moves leading the fictitious tusks
around and a girl back to the group that starts
the whole thing.

836 The premarital sex relations with the arrange-
583 ment that leads to marriage which Vatter^ calls
penara is properly called penaga(ng). The guru
prefers to call it bride-service, but it is not
so according to Vatter^.

The guru says there are three kinds of marriage
here: capture, service (or premarital sex rela-
tions leading to marriage), and payment. He
calls the last the respectable type. It requires
tusks, either real or according to bookkeeping.

192 Vatter^ makes a bad error on page 83. Kelen
114 does not mean "heaven," but only foot. The word
for heaven, on which he was confused, is klng,
with almost no vowels.

782 Prayer is not carried out by the Marang. The
788 word marang means to pray, and this has led to
614 the confusion that the ritual prayers at the
animal killing were always done by the Suku
Marang. The latter merely hands the betel around.
The oldest man who is an expert, from whatever

^[See bibliography, cat.113--Analyst]

782 suku, does the praying, as the Kottang, Kelen,
788 and Hurint do their jobs. The guru has seen old
men of all suku do the praying, but has never
●614 happened to see a Marang doing it. This is con-
clusive. He agrees that perhaps some relation
exists between the term and the function and
the suku, but he doubts it.

721 I read how Vatter,[!] shortly after he left
682 Leloba, heard that there was a war between Le-
loba and Waibalun. And right now while we are
here, after nearly twenty years, there is a war
between Leloba and Waibalun. They ask whether
aliens here bring the wars. At present there
are several Leloba men in jail because they
have killed a Waibalun man (just the other day).

I read the passage in Vatter which tells that
the guru's father, when he was kepala kampong,
killed (I think) fourteen suwanggi in one day.
The guru said that this was true and that nowa-
days even though there are still suwanggi the
government will not allow them to be killed.
The kepala kampong said that it happens once in
a while that a man, plagued by the wickedness
of a suwanggi, kills someone and is then sent to
jail.

614 Then we started to work on the social organi-
621 zation of Wailolong. What is happening is that
I am getting material on the two kampongs and
maybe that is the way to present it, not expli-
citly, but with emphasis on Wailolong. There
[184] are noticeable contrasts with the one hundred
per cent Christian community.

Ama Datong, Leworita, Ama Hurint, and Lewato,
[788] and Lewodoreng are the suku. The first plays
the part of Kottang in ceremonies. Kottang is
not found here. Leworita plays the part of Kelen,
which is not here. Hurint is O.K. The Datong
are the original settlers here.

I. Ama Datong

[!] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

- 614 a. Ama Radja
- 621 b. Ama Belolong
- c. Ama Rere

II. Leworita
- a. Subamaki(ng)
- b. Harutmaki(ng)
- c. Tapopuka(ng)

III. Ama Hurint
- a. Hadumbole(ng)
  - (1) Hadumbole(ng)
  - (2) Hadumbole(ng) Nipatale (slave descendants)
- b. Marimaki(ng)
- c. Melamaki(ng)

IV. Lewato
- a. Ama Waru'i(ng)
- b. Waktuka(ng)
- c. Tuhowutung

V. Lewodoreng
- a. Ama Waru'i(ng)
- b. Engamaki(ng)

582 614 835 The marriages run as follows (I checked a few from the woman's side and this is enough):

Men of	Marry Women of
Ia	IIIa2, IIIb, IIIc
Ib	IIIa1, IIIb, IIIc
Ic	IIIb, IIIc
IIa	I, IVa
IIb	Ia, Ic, IIIa, IIIb
IIc	III
IIIa1	Ic, IVb, V
IIIa2	Ib, IVb, V
IIIb	IIa, IVb, IVc, V
IIIc	IIa, IIb, IVc, V, (IIIa) (Note)
IVa1	III

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Men of	Marry Women of
IVa2	III
IVb	I, II
IVc	I, II
Va	I, II
Vb	I, II

582 614 835 583 684 178 The case of IIIc intermarrying with IIIa (perhaps it is IIIb) was one of incest which involved three virtually simultaneous marriages which occurred two generations ago. There were three men from one family who paid a very high bride price. This is like the similar case in Leloba. I asked how much higher the bride price was in these cases, and he said that they had to pay more tusks, but the man had to kill all of his animals. Thus it seems like a kind of tremendous purifying feast in order that the incest may be allowed. He said that the Leloba incestuous arrangement is still technically in, and anyone who wants to follow it now may do so without paying the tremendous price the pioneers once did. Both of the men who did it in Leloba are dead now. As for the Wailolong cases, this arrangement has been stopped, or rather, if it is carried on today it is wrong. They don't do it any more. There were the three men and then it ended. I asked about any resulting disasters and he said it is true that these sinners had had terrible troubles. I must ask what these troubles were exactly.

624 The offices are as follows:

622
614 --Kepala Kampong Kottang (Ib)
554 I. Radja Tuan Datong (kepala suku, tuan tanah) (Ia)
(2) a. Kelake Ama Radja (kepala ama (same man as I)

622 (1) b. Kelake Ama Belolong
624 c. Kelake Ama Rere
● 614
554 --Kepala Kampong Keleng (Leworita) (IIb)

II. Radja Tuan Leworita (IIa)
(1) a. Kelake Subamaki(ng) (same man as II)
(2) b. Kelake Harutmaki(ng)
(3) c. Kelake Tapopuka(ng)

--Kepala Kampong Hurint (IIIc)

III. Radja Tuan Ama Hurint (IIIa)
(2) a. Kelake Hadumbole(ng) (Same man as IIIa)
(1) b. Kelake Marimaki(ng)
(3) c. Kelake Melamaki(ng)

IV. Radja Tuan Lewato (IVa)
a. Kelake Waru'i(ng) (same man as IVa)
b. Kelake Waktuka(ng)
c. Kelake Tuhowutung
V. Radja Tuan Lewodoreng (Vb)
a. b. Kelake Waru'i(ng)--Engamaki(ng)
(same man as V)
(The arabic numerals to the left of the lower case letters in the above list refer to the relative rank of the offices listed.)

The last of these five suku is small and so has only one officer. There are only nine men in this suku (they reckon the size of a suku by the number of men in it), and thus there are perhaps only about thirty to forty people in all. They mentioned other suku with forty or more men. Lewato is also not very large. They say it has about twice as many as Lewodoreng. (These are IV and V.)

622
624
614 The kepala kampong is purely an administrative chief. The adat chiefs, who were evidently the only chiefs formerly, are the radja tuan and the

622 kelake. Evidently the kepala kampong have been
624 superimposed on the other system.
614 The purely administrative chiefs are:

Kepala Kampong Kottang (he is the kepala kampong)
Kepala Kampong Kelen (IIb)
Kepala Kampong Hurint (IIIc)

The latter two have this as their only titled rank. If I am right that the kepala kampong is also the kepala kampong Kottang, then there are really sixteen officers, i.e., actual men in office, but the total number of offices is twenty-three. Some men have more than one office. When
[788] there are ceremonies, the praying (marang) is
[887] done, not by the man from suku Marang, but by the oldest man who is clever. Here it is a man
[756] named Bugis, from IIa. He is also the molang, or medicine man. Can it be that often the two go together? The guru, as noted above, says that even in Leloba, where they have a suku named Marang, this is not the praying suku at the rites. The chief of the Marang suku is merely a hander around of betel. In Vatter's[x] time in Leloba the one who prayed was Laba, says the guru.

614 Note that an alternative term for Ama is Mela. Thus one can say, for example, either Ama Hurint or Mela Hurint.

693 Yesterday we met the chiefs of Wailolong.
624 They were at the kakang's office for a marriage
302 case. They were partly made up of short-haired Christians, but there were also pagan longhairs. I must get a photograph of all of them together with the information on who they are. Probably the administrative ones are the modern and the adat ones are the old pagans.

614 For the kepala suku they always have an old
887 man if possible. If no old man is available, however, they may have to take a younger one.

614 I must get on to the method of choosing the
622

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[x] [See bibliography, cat. 113 —Analyst]

614 chiefs and also clear up the exact differences
612 between the kepala suku and the kepala kampong, if any.

622 The next day I got an explanation of the
624 officers. The three kepala kampong (called
614 Kottang, Kelen and Hurint) are the administra-
574 tive officers. They are chosen by their respec-
796 tive suku. They have no ritual function as such,
231 unless they happen also to be either kepala suku of their suku or the kelake of their ama. The radja tuan and the kelake are also chosen by their respective suku and ama, but from the noble lineage within the suku. They must come from the "big house" (Lango' Bele'). Each suku has one such big house, and so does each ama. I have seen them in Leloba. I found out, however, that the head and feet are not actually held by the kepala suku Kottang and Kelen, but rather by some man, evidently it matters not who, from their suku. Also, the kepala suku Hurint himself does not actually cut (though evidently he may do so if he wants to), but usually delegates the job to one of his fellow suku members.

It happens then, in Wailolong, that there are five radja tuan and three kepala kampong. Then there are the kelake.

If they hold a suku feast, i.e., a feast on the land of the suku itself and which concerns only the suku, it runs something like this in each of the suku:

Ama Datong	Head:	Man from Ama Radja.
	Feet:	Man from Ama Belolong.
	Cut:	Man called in from Ama Hurint, but may not be from Nipatale.
Leworita	Head:	Man from IIa.
	Feet:	Man from IIb.
	Cut:	Man called from Ama Hurint, except Nipatale.

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622 Ama Hurint Head: Man called from Ia or Ib.
624 Feet: Man called from IIa or IIb.
● 614 Cut: Man from Hurint, except Nipatale.
796
574
231 Lewato Head: Man from IVa.
Feet: Man from IVb.
Cut: Man called from Ama Hurint, except Nipatale.

Lewodoreng Head: Man from Va.
Feet: Man from Vb.
Cut: Man called from Ama Hurint, except Nipatale.

If a kampong feast is held for all of the people, the setup is as follows:

Head: Man from Ama Radja (Ia).
Feet: Man from Subamaki(ng) (IIa).
Cut: Man from III, except Nipatale.

614 The Nipatale groups--in Wailolong they are
567 IIIa2 and IVa2; in Leloba IV-1b--are former
423 slaves, bought respectively by the Ama Hadumbole(ng)
582 Waru'i(ng), and Lewamaki(ng) amas. They have no
[796] ritual standing and they may never hold or cut.
They just look on. Also, they have no land of their own, but use the land of their masters (i.e., the ama who bought their ancestors). They
[753] must give the first fruits of their gardens to these masters, and if they do not they get sick. He says that they were bought from Adonara not long ago, perhaps about four generations. They are not really free yet. They must obey the orders of their masters. In ordinary life, however, this is a matter of adat and respect (hormat), and they are not ashamed. It is really a matter of (a) owning no land of their own; (b)

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614 giving the first fruits to the masters; (c) owing
567 certain duties to the masters; (d) respect shown
423 to the masters; and (e) not being in a good
582 place at feasts. They may intermarry, however,
and the bride price for them is the same, etc.
He said that even in the beginning they intermarried; in fact as soon as they got into the
area they integrated into the marriage system.
So strong is the need for these marriage rules
that even slaves must be put into the system.

The Ama Rere is a peculiar case too. They
[727] are descendants of war captives brought back
from the Maumeri area eighteen generations ago.
They too have no ritual standing, as can be seen
above in their lack of chance to do any of the
duties of the Datong suku. They do not have
their own land either. They have to work for
[796] Ia and Ib. That is, they have no ritual standing, no land, and they must do certain duties.
In the marriage system, however, they are equal.

614 Also peculiar in the Wailolong setup is the
554 Ama Hurint. They do not have a full position
423 in the kampong, because their ancestors came in
from Leloba. They have no land of their own in
Wailolong. Each year they receive land for their
use during the next year.

721 Then we got onto the schedule and learned a
number of incidental things. For instance, right
now the Leloba folk are scared to walk along the
road near Waibalun because there is a state of
war. Thus this is a real war and not play, and
there is real danger of death. The "big houses,"
778 i.e., the houses of the radja tuan and the kelake,
789 have holy stones before them. It is not proper
171 to call them nubanara but rather saoniwa(ng).
The nubanara proper are the holy stones of the
kampong in front of the korke. The saoniwa(ng)
hold the magical power of the radja tuan and the
kelake. The power of these stones invigorates
the respective chiefs, and this is why the folk

War

778 must give them respect and why the folk are scared
789 not to obey them. (Thus it is like the aradjang
171 in South Celebes.)

789 The guru really got going on magic power. He
721 said that they call on magic power especially
778 when they are going to war (and right now too).
769 If, for example, Wailolong were going to war tomorrow with Riang Kamië as they did only some fifteen years ago, the respective radja tuan, kelake, and maybe even the molang would get to work the night before doing the magic stuff. Among the other things they would call on the ancestors for magic power and also go through the betel rubbing on face, bodies, etc. They would also kill animals and use gin, because blood and alcohol have power. Then, on the next morning, they would be full of magical power and would go to war. All the men would come to the "big houses" to be "treated."

778 These "big houses" of the suku and ama also
614 have sacred objects, including tusks, plates,
237 etc.

422 These tusks, all of them, are ama property.
583 If any member gains possession of one, he places it in the big house of his ama. Any man in need of some tusks for a bride price may take them. If the tusks of the ama are exhausted, he may draw on the tusks of the suku. Thus Kassi, who Vatter said had no tusks of his own, could not use any tusks because his ama no longer had any. He happened to be a member of the Hurint suku, and the guru, the kepala suku, gave him some finally from the suku store and thus he was able to get married.

583 The minimum price for any girl is five units
237 of tusks (I think this is a matter of length, that is, the small and large are reckoned up). One may pay more without limitation. It is not a matter of beauty.

584 Child betrothal is common here, but this is
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609 Wa
423 are welcome here. There is not enough land for
the people.

632 The whole gemeente here (consisting of eight
173 kampongs) is full of legendary and cosmogonical
significance. There were seven ancestors who
443 started it, for example. There is a pasar at
437 Okka simpang which is held once a week. Most
462 of the people who go to this market are women
436 who carry on trade by means of barter. There
is almost no money here. I asked what they
[273] could sell, and the only thing they mentioned
was arak [wine]. We had some of this and it is
not bad.

871 Some people here see no sense in school;
185 others like it very much. There is talk of a
lot of people getting together in a "cooperatie"
and contributing to the education of a few
promising boys in Larantuka.

546 There are no movies here.

The guru said that there has been almost no
178 technological change here in the last fifty
years. Everything is the same as it was before.
[407] There is only one plow in the whole area.

665 There are no political parties, and the people
here do not even know the name of Sukawati.
In Wailolong kampong only the guru and the
kepala kampong know of him.

565 There are definitely classes here, including
624 families from the "big house" whose men are
614 eligible for various offices. Then there are
the masses, the ata ribu. And then there are
the descendants of slaves, that is, the Nipatale
sub-subsibs, and the Ama Rere subsib of
war captive descendants.

789 There are ideas that the Larantuka radja has
magical power, but we didn't get into the full
[778] story of this yet. I was struck by the statement
that the magical power of the officers
comes out of the holy stones. This is typically
Indonesian. And now I remember that he said

Wa

789 that the Larantuka radja does have an aradjang, but this is not the word for it here. I must get the right word. There seem to be no out-
554 ward signs of status. The main thing seems
614 to be a general knowledge of everything in the kampong and also whether a person lives in a "big house" or not. The Lango'Bele' system is impressive.

551 Notes on Larantuka: The mandur in the pasanggrahan is a Maduran who married a Catholic woman here. His name before was Ali, but now since he became A Catholic he is known as Andreas. His children have taken their mother's Larantuka name, Dosari, and their forenames are Dominicus, Paulus, and Maria. One who died was named Aloysius.

501 There was one prau owned in Leloba. It was owned by the guru. It was wrecked yesterday.

651 The tax here now is fl. 23.50 per adult man. In the prewar period it was fl. 5.00. The people have trouble paying it and always have had this difficulty.

656 In the prewar period if one did not obey
687 the government one could be jailed easily. Since the war this government control has weakened. For example, in a recent land case the present kepala kampong would not sign a paper of the government, nor would the guru. The kepala kampong was jailed, but the guru tried to bail him out. The government refused to accept bail unless he signed. He asked if it would be possible to re-open the case later if he signed. They said yes, but then refused to re-open the case afterwards.

R Roworeke: On Christmas, we came back through
796 the mountains. On the way, especially in the
535 kampongs in the Lio mountains, we saw many small processions with drums, singing, and many people who were drunk. While dancing the people seem to use handkerchiefs most of the time. This is

693 R
632 tions. Murder, theft, etc., come to the kepala
624 kampong or kapitan. Such cases are not within
[622] the adat sphere. These officials do not interfere
with each other's spheres.

632 The situation in regard to the offices is
624 as follows: The Big Four of the gemeente who
622 are also the Little Four of Roworeke (combined
with Worowai) are respectively from Rewarangga,
Odja, Rewarangga, and Rewarangga. All except
the giri tumba are from Worowai, and here there
is a rumah berhala. Only an Odja or a Rewarangga
man (and he must be a resident of Roworeke)
may be elected kapitan or kepala kampong
of Roworeke. In each of the other kampongs
there are families in which the Little Fours
are hereditary posts. This position is inherited
from father to eldest son.

[796] There are no set ritual functions associated
with these offices, but the mosa laki mere of
the Big Four (I think) must always be there for
a big ceremony, and he must receive the lower
jaws of the animals slaughtered. I note that
an alternative term for the four mosa laki is
tuan tanah.

771 Some of the people here are Catholics, and
796 I asked if they still did the ritual and prayed
when they held a big ceremony. He say yes, and
that Catholicism makes no difference in this
matter. He was firm in stating that there are
Catholic things and adat things. They are
796 separate. The two main feasts of the year are
241 those held at planting and at harvest time,
574 when the crops are brought in ritually to the
527 kampong. At these feasts the mosa are the
leaders and the big leader is the local mosa
laki mere. There is animal slaughter, dancing,
singing, and praying. They wear festive clothes.
[614] And there is also a big suku feast when the
[341] bone house of a suku is rebuilt. Thousands attend.
000 Smaller private rites are held for such

R Smaller private rites are held for such
755 cases as illness. A medicine man or woman
(and in the example given they said woman; per-
haps they are more frequent than men) is called
in and magical rites are performed.

582 We got onto the suku exogamy matter, and
● 614 they said at first that one could marry within
178 the suku if the relationship was at least three
generations off. But I pressed this a little
further and they seemed less certain. I
looked over the list which is now up to No. 190,
and I noticed only a single case of endogamy.
This proved to be a man from the outside who
had been "adopted" by the Odja (he was origin-
ally from Lio) long ago. He was still separate,
however, and I noticed that although he is
still trying to find the name of his suku in
the old place, the assistant left the suku slot
blank for him and his children. This proved
to be a case of no bride price and hence matri-
local residence. Thus there is not a single
case of suku endogamy. I suspect that they
[124] are either trying to fool me into thinking
they follow only Catholic rules, or else they
know the latter and talk about them. Or per-
haps they just don't phrase the old rules in
the same way any more, although they follow
them actually in practice.

124 We got onto the schedule as he has written
a few short answers already. They are not bad,
but it is evident that thinking and writing are
painful for him.

342 Formerly the kampong was much larger than it
is today and the houses were bigger by far.
They are still large. In regard to migration
166 the situation is not too clear, but it is quite
evident that very few people leave. Most of the
individuals who go away are police or soldiers
who serve in other parts of Flores. There are
also a few teachers who serve elsewhere in
Flores. They nearly all come back later. Their

R

166 property and status are kept for them. If any
youth wants to go out to seek his fortune, his
family and the kampong officers oppose this.
[186] They do not want people to leave. There is a
strong sense of localism here. For example,
[829] I asked why they knew so little about the kam-
pongs which are not far away from them when I
had come all the way from the United States to
find out something about them. They said that
they never went to other kampongs unless it
was necessary. This seems to be the Flores
pattern.

166 Very few people have immigrated. There are
some from other kampongs in Ende and Lio, and
in fact these areas account for the examples
of immigration aside from the women coming to
marry in. Normally, women who marry men from
another kampong go to live with their husbands.
There are a few individuals from Savu, one
[563] Chinese family, and a fair number of Ende town
folk on the lower border. They are not members
of the kampong.

423 There are evidently two kinds of land: the kampong land in the older parts of the kampong, which is used by members; and border land, which used to belong to Ende or other kampongs and which was bought by either the kampong folk or the Ende folk who live there. Thus the borders have expanded by the latter means. The fields may be used only four to five years and then must lie fallow for a long time. I must get more on the system of land ownership.

614 I had a hard time getting the truth about the
124 suku organization from these people. They are
dumber here than in Larantuka by far, and they
have lost much more of the memory of the actual
rules involved. Still, in Larantuka, I notice
that I have to ask many people in order to get
answers to some of the complicated questions,
for example, in regard to marriage rules. But

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614 here the process has gone much further and they
124 are slower in general to respond. Anyway I got
to the point where they said that there are
really only two "native" suku here in Roworeke,
[622] Odja and Rewarangga. Only an Odja can become
kepala kampong.

622 Incidentally, they agreed that in the old
624 days they had only four adat chiefs. The kepala
[177] kampong were superimposed by the Dutch. They
know this. I asked who were really higher in
rank, the mosa laki mere or the kepala kampong,
and they said that they were just different.
614 Other suku than the main two here are for example, Wanda, Ndoru, Songo, Soa, Fongi; all of
which are from Lio, and are represented here by
women who have married in mostly. Then there
is Djawa, which has been here for a long time.
Also there is Meo, from Nggobe; Gusi, from
another Ende gemeente; Gusa (or Tibo), from
Koavena; another Rewarangga kampong; and Woro
(same).

778 Koa is the negri lama of the Gusa suku, and
there the rumah berhala is located. It is the
one that has the images. Many of the oldtimers
live there. It is one kilometer uphill from
the km. 10 mark on the road, just above the kapitan's garden. There is a rumah berhala in
Worowai, where rites are held. I must get to
see this.

There is no question here but that the
614 Rewarangga suku has the greatest power in all
the gemeente. It may also have been the original suku. Next in order is Odja, and evidently
next in line comes Reandona, whose native kampong is Manunggo'o, in the hills above Roworeke.

527 On December 27, after the ceremony of independence, came the same sort of thing as on flag
day, but now for nearly a week there will be no
487 work. We left for Badjawa, the capital of Ngada.
The road went along the coast through a number

443 night, was pitiful. There were six gambling
[525] tables in the pasar shed,[1] and that was all.
The Radja tried to get some dancers, but the
women had left for the kampong.

525 The priest, Mommersteeg, said that they all
gamble and that there is plenty of money used
here, although there are also many one sen
stakes. We went to bed in the terrible cold.

In the morning we went to Todabelu with Mom-
114 mersteeg to meet Arndt.[2] We had met the latter
on the day before along the road. We saw an
old bearded man with a rain cape and umbrella
on a horse and asked if he knew where Arndt
was. He said that he was Arndt and that he had
ridden seven and one-half hours from Magilewa
near the south coast where he had gone for
Christmas. His parish is not there but on the
road to Boawai, off to one side. He was a
notable figure on the horse. We talked with
him about Ngada.

Arndt[2] says that there are no tribal units
614 called isi as van Staveren says.[2] There are
173 merely clans called voi. Then, inside these
611 units are bhou, or subclans. The big ancestor
was Djawa, who had seven sons and seven daughters.
The seven sons drop out, but the seven daughters
became the ancestral mothers of seven of the
great voi of Ngada, one of which is Ngada, and
this is the name of the ancestress. There are
a lot of other voi here too, each with a female
ancestor. I asked who the seven daughters
married, and he said this is unclear, but evi-
dently there were men on earth when the seven
were born. Thus it looks like an immigration
and intermarriage with aborigines. The bhou
614 have ancestral fathers, and thus they have a
611 system where the clans look a bit matrilineal
583 and the subclans a bit matrilineal, but the
whole descent is patrilineal unless there is no
bride price paid, when ambil anak occurs. Also,

[1] [i.e., at the night market --Analyst]

[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

611 614 583 582 I think he[1] said it is possible to pay part of the bride price and then to give some of the children to the mother's group. This is not so important, however, as the usual marriage is endogamous. They prefer to marry within the sib. They may marry out also. They have the same term for all cousins, and may marry with any cross or parallel cousin. Descent is patrilineal. Female descent is traced too, and thus there may occur cases of double descent with patrilineal emphasis and endogamy and clans. This is remarkable.

784 824 They also have totemism here with animal descent and tree descent. A member may not kill or eat the animal totem and may not cut or burn or use in any way the wood of the tree totem. Two of the latter are ficus and lontar. 583 554 The amount to be paid as a bride price is a matter of pride. 614 Many kampongs have only one voi, but others have several.

197 193 The language of Ngada is related to that of Ende and is very close to Nageh. Manggarai speech, however, is quite different. Arndt says there are no affixes in Ngada, but instead they use particles.

614 565 582 Correction: Not all voi have women as ancestors, but most of them do. There are four classes (not three as van Staveren[2] says). These are the nobles (ata gai or gai meze), upper commoners (ata gisa or gai giza), lower commoners (azi ana) and slaves (ata hoö). An upper woman may never marry a lower man, but the reverse is all right. The peo still stand.

124 We talked about the possibility of working in a Ngada kampong, but the Soa area has already been covered, and Arndt has a book nearly ready on the sociology of Ngada. There is practically nothing on Manggarai, so we decided to go to Ruteng first. We left in the afternoon, and after a hard drive, largely in the rain, we

[1] [I.e., Arndt, pastor in Ngada area--Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

124 the best for us would be the kampong Weol about
[799] 15 km. from Ruteng on a side road which is in
pretty good shape. He said it would be hard to
get an assistant, and this I see everywhere in
Flores. I can get informants, but they cannot
write. And so I must get a Christian guru.

361 We then went with van Bekkum and another
565 priest, Smits, to Weol. Below, there is a kampong
along the road, and here there is a chapel.
This kampong is an offshoot of Weol. Here a
couple of kraeng have settled. Above this kampong
is Weol, off the road on a high hill, with
a rocky path leading up to it. It is a real
342 negri lama. The lower kampong has three round
178 houses, notably large, and although the roof is
of alang-alang thatch, the walls are of wood
and are new. The name of this kampong is Tjantjar.
Formerly, all houses were round, but
now all new ones are built in a rectangular
shape, and most of them are now built of wood.
142 I note that the people here in Manggarai are
better looking than in other parts of Flores.
231 There are many more horses and buffalo here,
and even sixty thousand cattle. Agricultural
241 methods are better and so are the houses, and
364 the kampongs are cleaner. There are still some
137 forests here and groves too, so the people can
get wood.

778 There is a holy tree in the kampong of Weol,
764 and around it there are stones. Under these the
● 614 old ancestors are buried. Now, all except a few
va'u (clans) bury their dead outside the kampong.
624 I note that the tuan tanah (one per kampong)
771 lives in one of the three round houses. The
other two round houses are near his. They form
sort of a quarter. The priests say that the
tuan tanah must be a pagan, and it is a matter
of some concern to the old people to keep at
least one boy a pagan as his successor. This
is becoming hopeless, because just about all

We

592 I heard that there were up to thirty or more
people in many of the houses. The complex
243 arrangement of rice fields stretches out far
below and here the people work with several
[231] buffaloes. The fields are irrigated but
perhaps this is done merely by flooding. I must
ask about this. All around here one can see
361 small kampongs in the distance, each with a holy
778 tree. One has a fine big one. They are mainly
situated on rises and they are small, for
example, Weol has only about thirty houses in it.
The priest says that there are many of the
stones in kampong Ruteng located about $1\frac{1}{2}$ km.
outside of the town. I must see them.

124 The priest says that it is necessary to give
[273] the old men native tobacco and palm wine. The
[276] latter costs fifty sen per unit. I will try to
[435] buy some. I hope to work in the kampong each
day, and the guru will bring the table and
chairs up. Some days we may work in the chapel.
The guru is being taken off the payroll of the
[465] mission for one month and I will pay his salary,
which is about fl. 75.00. I will give him about
fl. 125. He must hire a coolie to do his garden
342 work which is pressing right now. The wooden
177 houses were introduced here by a priest. The
guru seems O.K. He smells, like most of the
515 folk here, including the priests. Bathing is
not done very much here.

582 I talked with him a bit and he says it is
614 possible to marry within the clan if the
relationship between partners is distant enough.
Clans are known as va'u. There are subclans,
called panga, and one may marry within these in
the same way, according to the guru. I must find
out more about this and also get the kin system.
We will start tomorrow.

526 In the afternoon we went to another place in
the center of the town where they were playing
football. A great crowd gathered, and despite

We

721 555 whips. Later the mandur of the pasanggrahan, a Manggarai man from kampong Ruteng, said that girls especially like a man who has knocked out another's eye with a whip.[1] It looks like a head-hunting pattern, but so far I have gotten no response on the subject of head-hunting, and the priests say it did not exist here even in former times. I must check on this.

[126] 634 273 537 609 We took photographs, and one of them was of the Radja. He was a bit drunk, and said that the dancers were hot inside too. He made what seemed to me to be an unnecessary speech to the men around him to the effect that we were Americans and not Dutch and as to why we were here. Later he said he was busy as this was the day of the kampong folk. He said he would see us later so that if we needed any help we could call on him, and he could also warn us of possible dangers. The latter reference was vague, and I can't see the point. He called a lad who came with a bottle of brandy and we had drinks in front of a great crowd. He wore a songko, which is strange for a Christian radja. Evidently, from what we hear, the Radja here has been in for only a short time, and this one is both young and new, as his father died recently (maybe not his father?)

614 582 Then we went back to the pasanggrahan and talked with the mandur who said that in the Ruteng kampong there is still plenty of the old culture. He said it is possible to marry inside the va'u (this is the correct spelling) or outside. He said marriages usually occur outside. He said something about how if one partner was from the older sibling branch of the va'u and the other from the younger sibling branch, they may marry (could it be that here we have a subclan?) The assistant says they have panga inside the va'u, and he gave his own as the first, which I think means the older branch. Thus

[1] [i.e., during the ritualized mock warfare games; see p.92, cat. 116 --Analyst]

614 maybe it is a matter of the older and younger
582 lines. I must check on this. The mandur said
[624] there was no tuan tanah in Ruteng kampong.
Later the assistant said they must have one.

124 In the evening the assistant came to the
pasanggrahan and talked with us. He seems to
be the best one yet. He knows plenty about
the old customs, and Christianity has not
caused him to scorn the old ways. He is so
enthusiastic that it was hard for us to stop
him. We got onto the question of Weol.

178 He said that in the old days there was only
342 one large round house per kampong. The diameter
614 was perhaps twenty meters. If you saw two
624 houses, it meant that there were two va'u. And
592 up until twenty years ago (1927) all tuan tanah
778 lived in round houses. After that, however, a
801 change took place. For example, the tuan tanah
of Weol now lives in a rectangular house. In
the old clan house there were nine posts, in
rows of three. The very center pillar was the
main one and here sat the tuan tanah at religious rites. Others ranged around the walls in
the front half of the house. The rear section
of the house was for the tuan tanah and his family. Other panga had sections around the walls.
In the center, behind the main post, was the
kitchen. Later, when more than one round house
was built in a single kampong, the tuan tanah
occupied the main house, and here the main pillar of all was located. This pillar is especially holy, and the setting of it in place requires certain rites, sacrificial animals, etc.
Other round houses had nine pillars too. Each
house was inhabited usually by one panga, and
in each there was a kepala panga, and smaller
rites were held at each main pillar.

243 The circular rice field arrangement shows
782 certain similarities here. He says that even
778 now when they begin planting or have some other

We

621 or drum. Thus they may speak of his house as
624 the rumah gong-gendang. These instruments are
534 used in the rites, and as tuan tanah he must have
342 them. If there is a branch kampong, the tuan tanah tjabang must get a gong and a gendang from the mother kampong tuan tanah. Thus the gong-gendang is a symbol of power, like the Celebes aradjang.

There have been men who from time to time try to become tuan tanah-like by getting a gong and a gendang. This is not possible, however, as they must come directly from the old tuan tanah. Sometimes a tuan tanah tjabang is not happy in the branch kampong and he may come back to the mother kampong, taking his gong-gendang with
621 him. I think he said that a branch is often
614 caused by the fact that there are two va'u in a kampong, and one may split off and move to a new location. Evidently there is a tendency to keep the rule of one va'u per kampong. Thus I note that he says that the Ruteng kampong, which has two va'u, is having internal trouble between the two. There might be a split off in such a case.

797 He said finally that Catholicism has made
178 just about no change at all in the adat. It stands fast. Maybe here we have a case of greater technical change than in Larantuka or Ende where there has been practically no technical change, but on the other hand, there has been very little change in the adat here, which has been much modified in Larantuka and Ende.
[242] Thus one can see beautiful farming techniques here, and the mission is strong in this type of development. There are also wooden houses with nails (cost about fl. 2000.00 in meat and gift salaries and materials). In Larantuka and Ende the economic conditions remain at the same old miserable level. Thus the mission changes adat and religion a lot in Ende and Larantuka, but only technical changes have occurred here.

000 only technical changes have occurred here.

592 I noted that as we were walking out of Weol, and I asked the priest how many families there were per house, he asked a man and the fellow said there were five in one of the big round houses nearby. Another man rebuked him and said no, there were only three in it. The priest said this is because the government has the law that only three families may live in a house, for health reasons. However, the folk secretly manage to have more. The first man was giving the folk away.

541 I forgot to say that at the whip fights (main
697 tjatjih)[1] there was a band of extra gay fellows who did a lot of the sideline chanting and chorusing. They had red and white banners and at one time when we were taking photographs they came dancing en masse and singing across the field like a slow moving army. At 5 P.M. they raised the banners, singing lustily, and marched off. I asked who they were, and the Radja said that they were the prisoners of the jail, who had been given the day free, and that they were now marching back to jail!

463 The assistant says that all or nearly all
462 men in Weol are farmers. Some, but very few,
231 have specialist skills, but even those farm too. Not one woman has any other job than that of helping in the fields and making mats or weaving in her spare time. Nearly every man has a few to many horses, and some have other animals.

354 A bad feature of the old houses is the smoke from the fire which coats everything with soot and makes for additional darkness, but on the good side is the warmth which comes with the smoke.

769 Theory on reading Coolhaas:[2] The Ngada nadu
778 which is for the male ancestors is a small
342 replica of the conical houses of Manggarai. The
173 small bhaga houses of the female houses are
614

[1] [See pp. 91-92, cat. 116 --Analyst]

[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

769 rectangular. Now, Coolhaas[1] says that in Manggarai
778 there are two native forms, and he gives
342 the native terms. One is conical and the other
173 rectangular, or perhaps a bit oval in shape.
614 However, the latter is not related to the former.
There are areas of the one and the other, and evidently some areas have both. Now, the conical ones seem older, and on any surmise because round houses are simply older in Indonesia. Note then, that Ngada legends say that Djawa had seven daughters who became the ancestral mothers of the seven main voi. And they married men of the land, aborigines, here. The men are the
[174] ancestral fathers of the bhou. Could it be that the conical male ancestor houses reflect the patrilineal aboriginal culture and the population stratum which lived in round houses, and the rectangular bhaga represent the incoming, matrilineal population and culture? If so, this says much about the double descent of Ngada, the peculiar legend, and the strange double ancestor houses. Now I think I know why there are those amazing conical male ancestor posts in Ngada.

173 The legends of Minangkabau immigration may
611 be foolish, and the priest says he thinks it is
342 built up more recently, by the younger folk who
563 hear a name of an ancestor who came in and it
sounds like "Minangkabau." But the surface evidence looks as though Manggarai and Ngada are a mixture of aborigines and immigrants. And there are also many evidences of double descent. I remember now that the priests talk much of enclaves of "autochthonous" folk in East Manggarai and East Nageh. They say that the people in these places are neither Manggarai nor Nageh. The Nageh enclave is originally from Soa, says Mommersteeg. I wish I knew whether these enclaves were patrilineal. Anyway, I doubt that they were unmixed. This may be a pretty good theory and may explain the umbrella houses.

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

784 There is definite totemism here though some
614 clans have no taboos or totem ancestors. But
611 it is the usual thing. Weol may not use one
769 kind of bamboo, because the ancestors were born
562 of this bamboo. Pau may not eat a certain kind
of monkey, as the ancestors were linked (this
is the assistant's va'u). Women marrying out
of the va'u may eat the totem of their own clan
but must go through a special rite. Men may
never give up the totem taboos, even if they
live in an ambil anak arrangement.

574 The next day we went to Weol and up to the
273 kampong with the assistant. We brought native
276 tobacco and gin which we had bought for fl. 2.00
123 in Ruteng. As we entered the kampong, on the
right we noted the house of the kepala kampong.
Next to it is that of the tuan tanah, where we
sat on the front porch. Both of these houses
are of the new style, but are sooty because
there are no chimneys. The children carried two
chairs up from Tjantjar for us and later brought
a table from the school. However, the assistant
and the tuan tanah and the kepala kampong sat on
a mat on the floor. Others were in the background.
On the rise in front was a great crowd.
We gave gin and tobacco to the old people and
[262] were later served first coffee and then two hard
boiled eggs. Others got no eggs. The eggs came
by chain-passing from the next kampong, Ndung.
Evidently eggs are something special. The old
tuan tanah knows everything, and his brother the
kepala kampong is old and smart too. The kepala
of the third panga of Weol kampong sat in the
rear. He too is old.

632 The daluschap Rahong is one of the thirty-
621 nine in Manggarai. The dalu are of Bima origin,
or at least this is true of most of them. There
are thirty-three kampongs in Rahong. The tuan
tanah knows all of them, including the constellations.
They are as follows:

We

632 621 1. Weol, with Weol as the center kampong and three branch kampongs. They all trace from Weol. There are three other Weol kampongs in the daluschap Tjibal to the north.

2. Ndung, with Ndung as the center kampong and five branch kampongs. All of them, including Ndung, stemmed originally from Weol. Indeed, the dual kampong Weol-Ndung is the center whence spread out all the kampongs of both Weol [614] and Ndung. And they evidently were all of the same clan, the va'u Weol. Thus this covers two gelarang districts.

3. Tjumbi, with seven branch kampongs.

4. La'o, with three branch kampongs.

5. Rahong, with seven branch kampongs. But this is a special case as it is the directly governed complex of the dalu. The dalu lives, however, in kampong Waukung, in the gelarang Tjumbi. These kampongs are scattered over the four gelarang into which the daluschap is divided. Thus, in all, there are thirty-three kampongs.

622 629 632 There is a tuan tanah in each kampong, but not a kepala kampong in each. See below. The big tuan tanah, the gelarang tuan tanah, are in Weol, La'o, Tjumbi, and Ndung kampongs. I wonder if perhaps, before, these were the district chiefs, that is, before the dalu came in.

Some of the tuan tanah are also kepala kampong. That is, they have two posts. This is so [565] in about half of the cases, but all kepala kampong are of the tuan tanah "nobility." Thus the kepala kampong of Weol is the brother of the tuan tanah. Thus they have managed to keep even the purely administrative officers in the adat-chiefly families.

The post of tuan tanah goes to the eldest son, but the kepala kampong is chosen by the dalu, after quietly finding out the will of the folk in the kampong.

We

614 166 All the people in Weol gelarang are of va'u Weol. There is one exception, the va'u Tjepang. These folk came in before from Boleng, in North Manggarai. They settled in kampong Weol, but when things became crowded, they went below to kampong Tjantjar. The latter alone has many people who are not of the va'u Weol, except for real newcomers, such as the Ruteng folk in Ndung, who came to work in the gardens (evidently as coolies) and settled down. There are many outsiders in the mixed and new kampong Tjantjar.

614 773 824 784 The original ancestors of the va'u Weol came out of a bamboo at a spot near the present spring below Weol. There are bamboo trees there descended from the original one. The original ancestors were a pair: Vako Dangka and Ine Karas. Not only is the bamboo taboo but also the lusa (red beans). For example, if a child eats these unwittingly, a fowl must be killed. They do not "cut off" the tongue symbolically with a leaf as is done in some other areas.

614 784 562 783 Women from other clans marrying into Weol must take on the taboo of their husbands. A Weol woman marrying into another clan may eat lusa, but only after performing the rite called ela penteng pitak, which means "to clean off the mud." She must take on the totem taboos of her husband's clan. The woman marrying into Weol gives up her own taboos, but must also do the ela penteng pitak. This ceremony involves a pig sacrifice. Thus every woman marrying into another clan must do this rite to give up her own totems. The name of the totem taboo is tjek'ki.

565 632 624 622 [634] There is a nobility which applies to the radjas, dalu, and gelarang. The gelarang are the tuan tanah (and kepala kampong) of the central kampongs of the gelarang districts, for example, Weol. Thus Weol has two gelarang, and Ndung has only one; because the kepala kampong

Wa

565 of Meler, the main kepala kampong of the Ndung
632 complex, lives in Meler. The dalu came in
624 about 1870. They were put in by Bima, and the
622 tuan tanah said that they were of Bima origin.
(Does this mean that no native chiefs were
made dalu? Evidently.)

622 There is no native term for the kepala kam-
624 pong. The tuan tanah is the tu'a tenu. In each
592 house there is a house chief, the tu'a mbaru.
The latter word means house. He is chosen by
the men of the house.

623 The kampong council, which must be called
592 together for each case, includes the tuan tanah,
693 the kepala kampong, and the tu'a mbaru of their
own houses. If the case involves adat, the tuan
tanah is the chairman. An example of this would
be a case concerned with land. If the case is
concerned with administration, for example, with
theft, the kepala kampong acts as chairman. In
all cases, however, all of the members of the
council are present.

614 The clans are divided into subclans called
624 panga. Each of these has a chief, the tu'a
panga. In Weol there are three panga and three
tu'a panga. Two of these are also the tuan
tanah and the kepala kampong. There are two
panga and two tu'a panga in Ndung. The tuan
tanah there is also tu'a panga of his panga and
tu'a mbaru of his house.

614 I asked about the origin of the panga. The
173 original ancestors, Vako Dangka and Ine Karas,
had two sons: Lando Kakor and Nalohollec. They
married wives of another va'u and between them
had seven sons (their daughters were forgotten,
a reversal of the Ngada story, where the daughters
of Djawa are remembered and the sons forgotten).
Each of these became an ancestor of
a panga, and in the course of time their descendants
split into many more panga. New panga may
be formed at any time, even now, as the old ones

We
● 614 get larger and split. Thus there are many panga
173 in the va'u Weol (are they grouped under the
original seven sons?).

614 The three panga of Weol kampong are: Lambar
621 (the tuan tanah is chief of this), Rinteng (the
592 kepala kampong is chief of this), and Rundu.
It happens that there are two houses in each of
the three panga in Weol, making six houses in
all. Thus each tu'a panga has two houses under
342 him. The houses of the tuan tanah and the
kepala kampong are built in the new style, as
178 are two of the others. There are then two old
round houses, one with old non-wood walls.
Most of the present round houses have wood walls
and are built with nails. The roof does not
reach the floor as in the real old time houses.
The new style houses are all the same pattern,
which was introduced by a certain priest. This
is the only new style they know, and all new
ones are exactly the same.

592 Often the whole panga will live in one house.
621 Ndung, which originally was linked with Weol, is
614 now a separate kampong and is even located in
624 another gelarang. The border is the mound
above the small house area of Weol. They are
[778] continuous, but each has its own sacred tree.
The kepala kampong of not only Ndung and Meler,
but of the other four kampongs in the gelarang
as well, lives in Meler. Thus there is only one
kepala kampong for all the six kampongs. But
each kampong must have a tuan tanah. The tuan
tanah besar, however, lives in Ndung, just as
the tuan tanah besar of Weol gelarang lives in
Weol (this is our host). The big kepala kampong
and the big tuan tanah of each gelarang has the
rank of gelarang. In the gelarang Weol there
are three kepala kampongs only, for the seven
kampongs. Thus the Weol kepala kampong is also
kepala kampong of Tjantjar.

614 The Ndung folk are all of the va'u Weol and
784 have a taboo on lusa.

Wa

000 614 592 342 178 have a taboo on lusa. There are two panga here: Rosong and Nggurus. Each panga has two houses, and thus there are four in all. There are more houses, however, and these are of the non-Wool newcomers, especially those from Ruteng. In addition to the four old houses of which two are built in the old style and one in the new style, there are: one round house belonging to the newcomers, mixed; three new style houses of newcomers, mixed. The reason that there are only three original houses is that one of the pangas has people living in a temporary, awful long tumbledown shack, wherein live also some newcomers. This is to be torn down as soon as two new style wooden houses, now under construction, are finished. In one of these will live the newcomers of the shed, and in the other the panga folk now living in the shed. Thus the houses are:

1. Tuan tanah house, new style, panga.
2. Round house panga.
3. Round house panga.
4. Small shed with one family who should live in number 3. It is beside the latter.
5. Round house newcomers.
6. New style newcomers.
7. New style newcomers.
8. Small shed newcomers.
9. Long shed mixed panga and newcomers.

Number 9 will split when the two new houses are finished, and the newcomers will go to one and the panga folk to the other.

342 531 554 624 I asked about the roof ornaments. The horns are pretty clearly a sign of the tuan tanah's house. The other type, the straight upright rod, is an ordinary decoration. Some of the horns have a bird head in the middle, and I have seen birds on the horn tips, but not here. The tuan tanah of Ndung has the horns, but in the center there is a human face.

We

624 In the house of the tuan tanah of Weol there
342 are four households. The tuan tanah has a sec-
592 tion to one side, since the old place in the
554 rear, as in the round house, is impossible be-
534 cause the rear door is located there. He keeps the gong-gendang, which is the symbol of his being tuan tanah. One might even call the tuan tanah house the drum house. These drums are important, as they are used in agricultural rites.

778 There are no holy stones (yet see later) in the kampong here. I hear that there are some in kampong Ruteng, which I must see. In each kampong there is a tree (the Weol one died some time ago and was replaced; the new one is rather small). Around these trees (the assistant knows nothing of the significance of the tree) are placed stones. He says they have no magic power, but in sacred rites animals are sacrificed there below the tree. In the cleansing of the kampong rite these stones are rearranged nicely.

178
582 Nowadays it is possible to marry in or out
614 of the clan. It is also possible to marry
[621] within or without the kampong, and the kampong usually consists of one clan. But even now one may not marry in the same panga. Thus there is lineage exogamy.

Formerly clans too were exogamous, but in special cases one might marry in, for example, if the girl became pregnant. Evidently there were other cases too. But since about fifty years ago endogamous marriages within the clan have been possible. Nevertheless, most marriages are outside of the clan. The first case of clan endogamy in Weol kampong involved the parents of the present tuan tanah. This occurred fifty yeargs ago. He said that they cannot remember what trouble was caused if any. The assistant has heard tales of evil following such cases of endogamy. I must follow this up. What has

We
614 happened is that as the va'u became larger and
582 spread out, even over the whole gelarang,
178 exogamy became more difficult, and also the
relationships linking the individuals in this
area became more and more distant. Thus they
gradually began to disregard clan exogamy. Indeed, since the whole gelarang Weol is nearly
all one clan, I can see the point.

582 One must marry a mother's brother's daughter
797 (see later). But it is taboo to marry a father's
177 sister's daughter or parallel cousins. The as-
[124] sistant uses standard anthropological symbols,
showing the effect of having worked with van
Bekkum.^ The priests try to discourage mother's
brother's daughter marriages, but they always
give dispensation. Thus they are less harsh in
this matter than they are in Larantuka. I get
the idea that the priests here are less firm
regarding the old adat in general than in Larantuka. This is probably because it is a relatively new field, and the Catholics go slowly
and gradually in destroying what is old. The
dodge they use here is special dispensation.
This is weird stuff in regard to acculturation.

583 The bride price is paid in buffaloes and
231 horses only, except for money. The return gift,
301 which is not nearly so large as the bride price,
is in ornaments, and is given by the girl's
842 family to the boy's. The people want children
611 of both sexes, as they want the price for the
583 girls, and the boys to carry on the line. If
591 the family consists of girls only, the people
614 say that the parents have no children. There
is no real ambil anak here. A man lives with
his wife's family until the bride price is paid.
This may take ten years or he may never pay the
bride price, but the children belong to his
va'u. Thus there is matrilocal residence although descent is patrilineal.

872 A school was started in Tjantjar only two and
177

^[pastor at Ruteng; see also bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

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776 The main god, called in the books Mori Kraeng,
is properly called Moring Agunaran.
565 Kraeng here is the original title for high
554 nobility, but it has been cheapened now and any
big may use this as a title. Thus the kepala kampong
may be called kraeng.
196 At ceremonies animals are cut up. This is
●614 done by families or pangas. Each man in the
782 group sacrificing the beast, touches its neck
231 with his knife, and finally one who is very
clever kills the animal. (This is like the
touching of the head stuff in Borneo head-hunt-
[887] ing.) Praying is done by a clever old man. He
is not necessarily the tuan tanah or mbako or
any set person.
526 The whip dance (main tjatji, as they say
535 here) is done at many feasts. Each house has
574 some costumes, and the men may use them. They
555 say that it is true in these whip dances that
they try to hurt the opponents, and that the
girls admire one who has put out another's
eye.
764 In these two kampongs there are no graves
under the holy trees, but they say that there
are graves under the tree at Ruteng.
535 In the afternoon we went to see some fine
527 dancing on the Ruteng alun-alun. This is part
526 of the week long independence festival. The
533 lads are still doing the whip stuff, and they
get prizes if they draw blood. There are scars
on the backs of many of the men because of this.
There was a troupe of amazingly dressed men
from kampong Ruteng who were dancing and sing-
[276] ing. Betel ingredients were passed to them.
Two old women were beating drums to all sorts
of rhythms, and there was also a lad beating
on a gong. Later two women played two gongs,
and women and men played drums. This entertain-
[887] ment was complicated and good. Most drummers
000 and gong players seem to be old women. These

We These

534 535 [624] drums and gongs were brought here from several kampongs. They are the real tuan tanah articles.

[292] At one time three little girls danced with their eyes downcast and with very little movement of the feet. They wore slendang and nice dresses. The oldest man, looking like a nickel head Indian, had on an amazing costume with rich embroidery, and a silver fringe under his chin like a beard. For a head decoration he had a gilded horse. He also carried two kris, and each of the other men had one.

526 Now, at 6 P.M., after all day of it, taking turns, the men are still whipping. This is a tireless business.

609 178 We get the impression of real remoteness here. These men are from the kampong nearby, and in this large bowl of distant mountains they are in their old dress doing the weird old practices and it has little to do with modern freedom and independence. When we go to such a place they look more at us than at the performers. We steal the show. But this is so all over Indonesia for whites. And they stare at us endlessly.

304 The tuan tanah of Weol has an elaborate set of patterns tattooed on his arms.

291 The Manggarai men often wear plaited, flat, songko-like headgear.

291 492 [133] The horses here are important. Men and women ride them, but mainly the former. The whole open land looks like the wild West. The priests use only horses here. They are small and spirited and bells are usually placed around their necks.

614 [624] The next day we went again to Weol and asked if the tuan tanah and the kepala kampong were really brothers. If so, how could they belong to different panga. I found out that they are not brothers but merely distantly related.

The three panga names in Weol are the names

We.

614 of long dead ancestors: Lambar, Rinteng, and
Rundu.

784 The name of the tabooed bamboo of the Weol
824 clan is bamboo belang. It is very thin. The
614 other kinds, for example betong, which is
thick, may be cut and used; but this is not so
of the belang type. A kind of maize, latung
pesi is also tabooed for the members of the
Weol clan. But, in this case the taboo is only
on the first-born of each family. The first-born
is the anak sulung (this is Malay, I
think).

632 The present dalu of Rahong lives in the
kampong Wankong, in Tjumbi.

621 I read Coolhaas[1] and checked with his
114 material. There are now two more kampongs in
624 the Weol area since he said thirty-one. Coolhaas
is in error in stating that Ladja is the
fourth gelarang of Rahong. It is really Ndung.
Ladja is a branch kampong of Ndung. The Manggarai
624 name for tuan tanah is tu'a teno. Teno is the
824 kind of wood used for the lodok, the wooden post
796 which is set in the center of the star of fields
for ceremonies. At lodok rites there must be a
[533] drum and a gong. Either sex may play the drum.
[562] Some of the beats are the same for the men and
for the women, but others differ by sex. Another
term for tuan tanah is tu'a lodok.

624 Everyone must pay some kind of tribute to
423 the tuan tanah. This is for his fields, which
651 are basically the property of the tuan tanah.
Even the radja, who has fields in Weol, must
pay tribute to the tuan tanah. He must also pay
tribute for his house space. This tribute is
used to defray the costs of feasts.

614 Watu Weol (they pronounce w as v and thus
778 this is more correctly spelled vatu veol) is in
[104] kampong Ndung, just above the settled area on
the side of the highest hill. It is in the
form of a rough human figure, which used to have

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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614 arms set akimbo, but "some people" came and
778 broke them off. It stands on a rectangle of stones, a kind of mound. It is very impressive. It is located a little to the side of the path and in a rather inconspicuous place.

[773] The image Ine Amba (see the legend about this: it is a woman turned to stone with her child because she bathed naked) is located four kilometers off from Weol kampong in kampong Bangkavelo.

231 In regard to what Coolhaas says on page 334,[1]
241 they certainly do not kill buffaloes in the
782 garden, but they do kill buffaloes in connec-
114 tion with agricultural rites. They do this in the kampong. In the garden itself they kill only pigs and fowl and goats and dogs. These are indeed women's animals. So, to an extent, Coolhaas is right.

565 The term for commoners is ata leke. The term kraeng is used for all three levels of nobles.

114 In regard to what Coolhaas says on page 336,[1]
632 the people here still give tribute to the dalu
651 when he travels. They give wine, rice, fowls,
466 etc., if they have them. But if the dalu now
624 wants a new house he may no longer expect free
476 labor. Now he must pay for such service. If, however, there is need of a new tuan tanah house, labor is given without pay. And if there is a new house to be built for the tuan tanah besar, everyone in the gelarang helps. For the kampong tuan tanah, only the kampong helps, although other kampongs may assist in some way or other.

567 It is true that there were many slaves (mendi).
565 Their descendants are still known. It is also true that new
114 slaves were put in stocks (lampang) until it was certain that they would not run away. It is also correct that slaves who had been in a family for a long time might even marry commoners. Indeed, they eventually reached

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

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ema	father, father's brother, mother's sister's husband.
nde	mother, mother's sister, father's brother's wife.
amang	mother's brother, father's sister's husband.
inang	father's sister, mother's brother's wife.
empo	grandparent.
weta	sister, father's brother's daughter, father's sister's daughter, mother's sister's daughter.
kae	older brother; ase--younger brother. Also father's brother's son, mother's sister's son.
kesah	father's sister's son, mother's brother's son.
wina	mother's brother's daughter, wife.
rona	father's sister's son, husband.

114 582 583 565 ● 614 597 Coolhaas[h] is all right on cross-cousin marriage, too. Only one of a set of brothers marries a mother's brother's daughter. Other brothers may not do so. In this event it can be any of the brothers, not only the eldest. But it is essential that one must and the others must not. However, if another brother wants to after one brother has, he must pay a horse in addition to the usual bride price. This is probably for a common man, and the extra price may be expected to be higher for a noble. This is done only if the father of the boy is unwilling to let him be adopted by another. The latter is another means to the same end. Thus, if the second brother wants to marry a mother's brother's daughter too, the father can let him be adopted by another man. However, the latter must be of another panga. Then the bride price is kept at the usual size.

114 582 Note an error in Coolhaas on page 348! Two

h [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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114 brothers may not marry two sisters, as this is
582 very much taboo. A man may marry two sisters,
[632] however. They agreed that Coolhaas[1] on marriage
114 rules of the dalu seems correct. As for the
582 folk, the rules indicate preferred clans, but
614 they say this is not too strong. Thus the
rule is that Weol men get wives from Manges, a
va'u and gelarang in the dalu Velak, to the
west, although not very far. It is about a one
day walk from here. However, this is not by
any means the method followed at all times, and
actually only about twenty-five per cent of the
women married in here are from Manges (Manges
is now called Regak). These were originally
from Lelak or Relak, which is a neighboring
gelarang to Weol. Thus it looks like a clan
localized in district terms with marriage rules
between clan-districts as in Wouden style. The
women of Weol usually marry men of Tjepang, the
clan which used to live in Weol also, when it
was a two-clan kampong, but who now have moved
down to Tjanjar. However, Tjepang is the name
of a kampong just to the west, also in the Velak
area. It looks as though the fact that Tjepang
[166] men married Weol women led to more and more
Tjepang men coming to live in Weol, until it
finally became half Tjepang. (Even now the
Ruteng folk who have houses in kampong Ndung
are mainly, if not all, men who have married
Ndung women, and the latter have gardens here
and so the men must come to live in their wives'
kampong.) I must get the marriage rules of
Ndung.

Men of Manges may not marry women of Weol.
582 And men of Weol may not marry women of Tjepang.
614 Thus it goes that Weol gives women to Tjepang,
583 but gets women from Manges. However, Tjepang
gives women to Lalong, and another clan gives
women to Manges. Bride exchange is taboo, which
582 is in line with the mother's brother's daughter
rule.

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

114 Wea
[585] exactly the same rites and all moves are the
[565] same, but each payment is smaller. Coolhaas'
[784] word for tjek'i (totem taboo) is an alternate
● [614] ireng, but not pireng as he says (page 354).^
In addition to the technical totem taboos given
[286] by Coolhaas, the Ruteng clan may not weave.

I note on the map that place names recur
103 often all over Manggarai, especially not far
614 away. These are clan names, which are given
to kampongs founded by split offs from the
mother kampong. Thus there are two Sita, etc.

634 The mandur said there is criticism of the
578 Radja today because he is not "one hundred per
632 cent Manggarai." He is a Todo, and Todo is of
648 Minangkabau origin. This is fantastic, al-
186 though somewhat ironic that the Todo are proud of this Minangkabau story while at the same time it may harm them in light of Manggarai nationalism. It is also notable that Mennes^ says that when the Dutch were trying to select a radja for Manggarai for the first time, they thought of Bima, but saw that Manggarai was not a contented area and that the people there wanted a "real" Manggarai radja. Then the Dutch chose Todo as it was the traditional, prime kraeng of Manggarai. A probable factor here is that under Todo there were thirteen dalu around Ruteng, and they remember having to knuckle under to Todo. Now, with independence, they may see a possible chance of paying off old scores. This pattern may arise all over Indonesia where self-governing setups led to exploitation of lesser princes by greater ones. The dalu may try to raise themselves up to a parity level and remove the lord of Todo whom the Dutch put in after the Bima oppression was lifted.

191 I note that many old men who cannot speak Malay at all seem to understand it. I will ask questions, and they will reply without first going through a translator. However, the reply

^[See bibliography, Cat. 113--Analyst]

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241 five times. Then two men imitate mice and run
782 around, while others pelt them with clods of
231 earth. This part is called mburu pusu. After
624 this weeding can be done.

527 (4) Tege rego, when the crops are ripening.
A pig is sacrificed and the people go around
the lodok five times. (The tuan tanah always
leads the procession of the people who have
shares in the garden being rited.)

(5) Tjepa, just before the harvest. Each
family concerned gives a pig, rice, etc. If
the garden is a lingko randang, a buffalo must
be sacrificed. The animals are assembled in
the kampong, and the crowd, with one of the
pigs, goes to the garden. Each one plucks a
stalk and a hair. The pig is killed. Then they
go back to the kampong and go around the "adat
house" five times and then go inside to dance.
Then all the other beasts are killed and the
[195] whipping starts. While harvesting, special
words are used for animals and aliens.

776 At all feasts the poti empo are called and
769 the setan are chased. Therefore, the dead are
never buried far from the kampong, and perhaps
inside the kampong. Thus it is easier to call
them. They live at their graves.

124 We talked with the assistant Sunday and then
[524] took him home. (We discovered in Ende later
that the bamboo clapping game is also practiced
there.) Then we set out for Badjawa, which we
reached in the evening. The next morning a lad
named Alfons appeared and said that the Radja
Kedua had told him to show us the Soa area when we
were in Badjawa. He is the former guru agama
[religious teacher] and had taught Malay and
Ngada to many priests. He is good looking and
intelligent and wears leather puttees.

361 Then we went to Soa, but first stopped at a
621 spectacular kampong named Lekedjere, on the side
614 road to Soa. It is pure Ngada, really a double

361 kampong, or rather two suku living there, one
614 living on the level of the road and the other
621 a bit down the hill to the rear. However, they
are adjacent. The two suku are Naru and Lodo.
[211] At the road border of the kampong a bit in from
the road, standing against the skyline, is a
row of tall roughly chiseled stone pillars
looking like gigantic stone age scrapers or axe
heads. They are thin and tall. They are set
on a rectangular stone mound. Surrounding the
[417] kampong is a raised stone border as is typical
of all kampongs in this region, so that the
kampong itself is located down in a stone wall
enclosure.

Below the first row of stone pillars there
346 is another with just as many stones. It is also
769 set on a mound. Just below this stands the
531 umbrella-like ndaru for male ancestors, and on
one side there is a living tree with Y-branches
at the fork. Stones are heaped around the
ndaru and tree. The ndaru is about twelve feet
high, and consists of a single pillar with
thatched cap. The pillar is made of hebuh wood
and is carved in fancy designs which are hard
to make out. It also has eyes, a nose and a
mouth (on another one, in Brova, the eyes were
made of white shell). Looking under the cap I
could see that the pillar forks were in the
shape of a U, and so it is really about the
same as the Nageh peo, but less clearly Y-shaped
and covered with a cap.

342 To either side of the plaza, which was of
361 earth, stood a line of houses, which were small
and had rather low roofs. These houses are set
on piles. On one side was the house of the
624 mori ndaru, who is also the kepala kampong.
769 The mori ndaru is the highest man, like the tuan
346 tanah, and he is the one who sets up the ndaru.
565 554 There can be more than one ndaru per kampong.
574 Evidently any bangsawan can give a feast in

342 Also, Lodo seems poorer in general and has fewer
and less spectacular stone pillars. Many of the
houses here have double front porches, one behind
the other.

346 Each of the two sections or kampongs has a
769 female ancestor house, called a bhaga. It is a
237 simple rectangular small house inside of which
224 are many horns, jaws, and a fireplace with an
earthen base and three stones on it. Cooking
is done therein during feasts. I can see here
many clear reminiscences of a hunting level.
For example, the jaws seem to indicate this.
[171] This is just like Mentawei, and, for that matter,
Punan. And the people here still do a lot
of hunting. They also have hunting rites.

582 The mori ndaru and kepala kampong of Naru is
614 easy to talk with, and he said that they may
marry in and out of the voi, but such marriages
must be within the same turunan, i.e., there
are evidently larger groupings of voi. He said,
for example, that the people of Lodo and Naru
could intermarry, because they were all descended
776 from Naru. I got a real rise when I asked him
784 about the bapu, i.e., the spirit in the hebuh
124 tree who is also thus in the ndaru, which must
824 have its post made from the hebuh tree. I read
769 that the name of bapu was taboo and they said
that indeed this was true, that formerly there
was no mention made of it. They still regard
this somewhat secretly and looked shiftily when
I mentioned it.

782 When there is a sacrifice they must always
346 smear some blood on the ndaru. The house of the
531 mori ndaru, and any other house which has the
342 elaborate carvings (which are evidently a sign
that the owner has built a ndaru) are called
soa wadjo. The report I have says that wadjo
[789] means strong and also having a sense of magic
582 power.

565 When I asked about marriage rules, they were

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632 8. Nangapanda (km. 28 on the way to Badjawa).
9. Tana Djea (km. 31 on the way to Badjawa).

632 173 Thus Rewarangga is the easternmost of the gemeenten, on the border with Lio. It is half surrounded by Nggobe. I asked about the ancestor stories which make Rodja and Nggobe the first and greatest gemeenten. The kapitan said that this was because of the manner in which Suchtelen' got his stories. The people who gave him his information were nearly all illiterate townsfolk. I retold the story of the five siblings from Java. He agreed that every area had [186] its own version in order to make themselves appear greatest.

632 He said he got along all right with the Mohammedans and that the former Christian Rukuramba kapitan was merely inefficient. Arriens said so too, and that the present Mohammedan kapitan there is the best of all.

● 614 361 Then I checked the place of origin of the suku in the census and got the following information. Odja came from Rabu (Rewarangga). Meo came from Ndetuko'u (Nggobe). Djawa came from Rabu (Rewarangga). Ndoru came from Ndungga (Lio). Reandona came from Woropau (Nggobe). Wanda came from Waturoga (Lio). Tibo (Gusa) came from Koavena (Rewarangga). Ndosi came from Wolotole (Lio). Rewarangga came from Worowai (Rewarangga).

Note: This suku (Rewarangga), the real old one of this region, originally lived in an even higher kampong, Wawotonda. It was located two kilometers above here on the road into the hills. Worowai is only a half to one kilometer above the road. A few people live in the Wawotonda area, but it is no longer a kampong. It is in the territory of the kampong Worowai. In Wawo-[778] tonda there are stones and cannon. But the [346] ruma berhala of Rewarangga suku (a bone house like that of Odja here) is in Worowai now.

'[See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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614 361 like that of Odja here) is in Worowai now. Woro came from Ndungga (Lio). It is unknown at present where Soa, Songo, and Mboti came from. Fongi came from Wolotope (Lio). Sue came from Tombe (Rabu; Rewarangga). Waï came from Wolotolo (Lio). Mbonggi came from Volofeo (Rewarangga). Pare came from Mbomba (Berai). Lenalaba came from Dile (Lio). Watu came from Rabu (Rewarangga). Gusi came from Watusipi (Berai). Wadja came from Potu (Nggobe).

622 565 Then we got onto the matter of who may become kepala kampong. They said that he must be of the bangsawan class or the people will not follow him. Thus he must be of a mosa laki family. There are three possibilities in the rank of the kampongs:

(1) The kepala kampong and the mosa laki mere are the same man.

(2) The kepala kampong and the mosa laki mere are brothers.

(3) The kepala kampong and the mosa laki mere are of the same family.

Thus Roworeke has a kepala kampong of the mosa laki family. The same situation is true in Worowai and Manunggo'o. Worowaku has a kepala kampong and mosa laki mere in the same person. In Arereke they are in the same family, and so on.

632 The offices in the gemeente are: kapitan, the Big Four, the oppas (oppa), djurutulis (djurutuli), and mandur (oro kuni).

624 The officers of the kampong are: kepala kampong, the Little Four, mandur (oro kuni).

875 The two school teachers live in Waturoga. The head teacher is from Maumere, the other from Ndona. The religious teacher lives in Roworeke.

484 Everyone here in Roworeke has at least gone to Ende. They have seen little else, however. When they go to Ende they usually go for a single

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443 basis. They obtain products by purchase in the backland and sell them in Ende. They also sell gewgaws which they bring along with them.

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829 Interest in local, foreign or international news is at a very low level. They insist that nearly everyone here knows just about nothing in regard to anything outside of the kampong. They are even ignorant of Rewarangga.

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621 They said that originally each kampong consisted of only one suku. Then others moved in. Thus, at one time Wawatonda was the kampong of suku Rewarangga. Then they came down to
[764] Worowai. Here today there is a rumah berhala, but it is a mere bone-grave hut, like Odja in Roworeke.

Rabu is now in three kampongs. It was one at some former time. It is ten kilometers from here. This is the place where the original kampong of the Odja suku was located. But they have now lost contact, and indeed, so complete was the move to Roworeke that probably no Odja folk are left in Rabu today.

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829 The kapitan said an interesting thing when I was pressing him to give information in this regard. He said that only since I came here had he learned very much about the culture and the past of Rewarangga.

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764 These rumah berhala, with images and a real house, or merely with the grave-bone shrines, are suku shrines. There are four real rumah berhala houses in Rewarangga. These are as large as a real old style high roofed house,
[753]
[782] and in them there are images (ana deo) and perhaps bone bundles too. These run as follows: (and anyone who visits them and looks into them must leave an offering, for example, money or cigarettes, etc.; otherwise he may get sick):

1. Volofeo has a real house and in it there are four ana deo, wooden images. There are no bones. This house was used by all four suku

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346 here, and perhaps each ana deo is of one of
614 the suku. They are uncertain about this, but
778 thought that this was perhaps right. They
764 did know that the house was used by all four
suku. It is a kind of cooperative venture in
the ancestor cult. They got together and
built it. It is at kilometer 17, one kilometer's walk up.

2. Bu'ube'i, the most remote of the
Rewarangga kampongs, is at kilometer 17 plus
a ten kilometer walk. There is a real house
there, but the kapitan does not know if there
are any bones. They do not know what suku it
belongs to. He was there, but was afraid to
[753] look inside. They fear illness. I asked why
[782] he didn't give a gift and thus insure his
safety. He said it would be no use to take
[152] the chance. Thus he is a Catholic and thus he
fears both outside magic and ancestral ghosts
at the same time. It does have an ana deo.

3. Ratebedi has an ana deo, and bones too. The suku is unknown. This is at kilometer 13 plus a four kilometer walk.

4. Vavoëü has an ana deo, but with no bones. The suku is unknown. It is at kilometer 13 plus a one kilometer walk.

All others have either nothing or merely a grave-bones shrine.

5. Worowai has a shrine of the suku Rewarangga.

6. Roworeke has a shrine of the suku Odja. It is in a section of Roworeke Asal.

7. Worowaku does not even have a shrine.

8. Arereke has a shrine of suku Urureva.

9. Pu'uperi has a shrine of suku Rea (a different suku from Reandona).

10. Information is lacking for Kekawi'i.

11. Koavena has a shrine of the Gusa suku.

12. Kekamberu does not even have a shrine.

13. Nioreko has a shrine, but the suku is

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614 unknown. Nioreko also has a rumah berhala, an
778 actual house, but it is merely temporary and
346 lasts only seven to eight years. Then it is
764 rebuilt. It has no ana deo. This is a kind
of intermediate type of situation.

14. Manunggo'o has no shrine. Thus suku Reandona evidently has none.

15. Pu'umbindi has a shrine, but the suku is unknown.

16. Mbago has a shrine, but the suku is unknown.

17. Pemodjera has a shrine, but the suku is unknown. Also, like Nioreko, Pemodjera has a temporary rumah berhala house, which is rebuilt when it collapses.

18. Sokopedji does not even have a shrine. It is a new kampong.

614 This is interesting and goes to show that
178 the suku were localized before. I asked why
829 there were so many in the census for which the
suku were unknown. They said that if their parents did not tell them, they never learned this information. It shows a breakdown in the system, but it is still very important. Real disintegration is just beginning. I scolded them to the effect that they as government men of Rewarangga did not even know the suku of the kampongs in their district. I said that the people in the United States would think that they were poor administrators. They said that this suku business was adat only and that they were concerned with government only. I pointed out that even the giri tumba besar seemed vague about all of this outside of his own kampong, and he is a leader of adat. They begged off saying that perhaps he didn't understand what I was after.

778 It is notable that only the four kampongs
769 with real rumah berhala (Volofeo, Bu'ubedi,
346 Ratebedi, and Vavoëü) have annual ancestor
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778 feasts. Thus it is like Barupu in Toradja.
769 (Ratebedi is one of the Rabu kampongs.
346 Vavoëü is another, and so is the non-shrine
574 kampong Kekamberu. The others which have
merely the grave-bone shrines have a feast
only when they need to fix up a shrine.

632 The next day we went to Roworeke again. Note an error in the preceding notes: The sikesani besar, who lives in Worowai, is of the suku Nggonggora'ba. Thus the Big Four are as follows: Mosa laki mere of Rewarangga, Giri tumba of Odja. Ndeto au of Rewarangga, and Sikesani of Nggonggora'ba. The names of these posts mean: mosa, male (animal); laki, male (human); mere, big; giri, around; tumba, spear (he walks around with a spear); ndetu, many colored; au, bamboo; sike, here; sani, there.

181 I am always impressed by the combination of
124 lack of courtesy and the cringing servility of
576 these Endenese. They constantly talk to each
other when I am talking, pass remarks about me in Endenese, etc. At the same time they keep on "tuarning" and bowing. They are grasping too. For example, the kapitan looks steadily at my gold watch and band and asked me to sell him U.S. gold pieces. The assistant asked me to give him personally a ring-spiral notebook such as used for the work. He can't answer questions on the schedule, so I have to do it all. The kapitan is a bit better, and the guru is smarter, but I get the idea that these folk are a rather poor lot.

784 Again we got on to the subject of totemism.
262 The word for such taboos is pire. I doubt that
●614 I got the whole story, but as far as I can see
562 there are three kinds of totem taboos and they
apply to foods:

(1) Suku or pu'u taboo. This is called pire ngguäh, the latter term meaning "descen-

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784 dants of suku". (Evidently related to the
262 adat kepala kampong, the ata ngguah nua ["man
●614 suku descendants kampong."]) I must ask what
562 the suku membership variation in adat kepala
kampong are; here he is an Odja. These taboos
apply not to men nor to children of the suku
but to women who marry into the suku only.
This is very unusual, in ethnography. In the
Odja suku these apply to the tomato, dog, eggs,
and four other kinds of food. The males of
Odja and the children may eat everything, but the
wives may not. Thus if a Wanda woman marries
into Odja, these are her taboos. If she eats
[753] any of these, she gets terrible sores, and they
always point to their arms, just as the Ambonese
say that sores on their arms are caused by the
same thing. The Wanda taboos are the tomato,
eggs, a kind of maize (djagung Solor), and
ripe coconut.

784 (2) Family or household taboos. These are
called pire sa'o teenda (sa'o teenda means
262 family). These are set by the father (and by
753 the mother too?) on all the members of the
592 household, including the man, wife and children.
614 Thus the assistant had bad sores two years ago
and asked the dukun why. The latter diagnosed
the cause as buffalo meat (the horns stuck
through the skin). Whereupon Migo declared
that buffalo meat was taboo to himself, wife,
and children. Such a taboo stays in the direct
line (thus a kind of lineage totem) until some
head of a line decided it is needed no longer,
and then a feast is given together with an
animal sacrifice to lift the taboo. Thus Migo
[773] has started a taboo, and perhaps fifty years
hence, unless it is lifted, they will have a
story in his family about the origin of the
taboo. The suku taboos have more ancient
legends to explain their origins. These taboos
of household restrictions are thus a kind of
assumed taboo.

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614 assumed taboo.
784 (3) Personal totem taboos. These apply to
262 individuals only, not to a wife or husband or
753 child or anyone else. This is a kind of "allergy." These are pire se'imu (the latter term means "individual"). Thus the kapitan's wife got sores and decided (dukun consulted?) that it was because she had eaten buffalo meat. Now she eats none. If she wishes to lift her taboo, she must give a feast with animal sacrifice. The kapitan and his child may eat buffalo.

614 The kapitan's wife thus has the taboos of
784 the kapitan's suku and her own personal one
583 too. She was also of Odja, but until she mar-
562 ried did not have the Odja taboos. Migo's wife has Odja suku taboos (she was from the suku Wanda) and also Migo's household taboo. The kapitan has no taboos, but Migo has his household taboo. It is notable that if a man
[591] pays no bride price and lives matrilocally, his wife does not take on his suku's taboos, but assumes the taboos of the women who marry into her own sib. That is, she is a married woman, and thus must follow suku taboos. But since the bride price has not yet been paid she is not a member of her husband's suku, and so she merely takes on her own suku's taboos as though she were a woman married into her own suku. When the bride price is finally paid, she takes on her husband's suku's taboos, and of course they move into his house. Thus one can say that the totem of the suku hits women only, but only women married into the suku, not women of the suku. Lineage taboos are coming in all the time, and they apply to all household members and may pass on down from generation to generation. Personal taboos are for individuals only. This is queer, and I am sure that I have not yet got the whole story.

000 & since then there have been no wars.

614 574 632 624 The great suku feasts are a kind of refresher of the gemeente bond, as all the suku of the area come and feast and pledge friendship. Thus, if Odja has a suku feast for repairing the grave-bones shrine, the other five big suku (and also others who are invited) attend. (The five are Rewarangga, Nggonggora'ba, Reandona, Wanda, and Gusa-Tibo). Thus the suku feasts are gemeente affairs as well as of a genealogical group. The mosa laki mere must be present at all such feasts, even though it is not of his own suku. Incidentally, he is the same man as the kolu, mentioned by Suchtelen[1] as the "tuan tanah." This kolu word is evidently used especially in his function as an agricultural priest. Thus he is an adat judge and agricultural priest at the same time. The mosa laki mere involved is the mosa laki mere of the kampong involved; thus here he is the big one, as the kampong mosa laki mere of Worowai-Roworeke is also the mosa laki mere of the gemeente.

[237] [342] [178] He gets the lower jaws of all the sacrificed animals. Nowadays he throws them away after eating, but formerly all bones from such occasions were kept and were put on the houses. Thus there is a clear relation involved between the jaws on the Ngada houses of the tuan tanah there and such occasions (and distantly to the Mentawei and Punan animal jaws). Note that he gets the lower jaws.

538 533 [124] As for legends and stories of the past, at first they said that they have none, or rather that they had forgotten what they might have had. I prodded on and told them about the Balai Pustaka man getting stories of Indonesia for schools. They loosened up a bit, and it seems that they do have plenty. I instructed the assistant to get a few as samples. They said

[1] [See p.70 of van Suchtelen as cited in bibliography cat.113—Analyst]

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621 some of the mountain kampongs in Rewarangga
361 are probably older than Worowai. Each kampong,
632 however, has a negri lama, and from there the
[614] people descended. Nevertheless, kampongs are
still formed partly of suku or suku sections
coming in and joining the old settlers from
the negri lama.

443 The market "wheels" follow a daily series
as in Celebes. These wheels run in different
directions. Thus one runs out to Wolowaru,
and another runs out on the Badjawa road. The
traders follow the pasar week from market to
market.

431 There is no exchange of gifts between kampongs, although there is gift exchange in
583 marriage, and this is set. A man gives "male"
562 things (animals, gold, money, tusks) and a
woman gives in return "female" things (cloth,
mats, rice, etc.).

776 As I drove back to Ende with the guru, he
784 pointed to a place on the river near Wolomere,
and said that many had drowned there recently.
The water is deep, he said, and there lives a
"head" of a human being. It is still living
and people have seen it. The Bapa ketjil has
seen it several times, in daylight. It moves
around as though on short legs. It is just a
human head, with hair. They don't know what
it is or where it came from. However, the
people are now scared to bathe here. The victims have been sucked under. He asked me my
opinion. I wonder if he, a zealous Christian
[123] and perhaps a mission spy, is testing my faith,
because he asked me when we were on Kilimutu
if I could see spirits. But it may be sincere.
They call this living head the Kolo mesa ("Head
alone").

622 Error: There is an adat kepala kampong as
693 well as an administrative kepala kampong. The
624 adat one is the ata nggaëh nua, and he is locally

511 sing a little and then go to sleep. The only
461 time they work hard, and this consists of
185 bringing in coconuts and other stuff to the
[273] Chinese, is when they want to get clothes for
feasts and when they have to pay taxes. Their
only thorn is taxation. Without taxes they
would be completely happy. I heard later, in
237 regard to the tusks, that there are very few
438 in Wailolong, perhaps only ten. However, they
556 circulate and keep the system going. The assistant said that many have been sold because
the people need money so badly. Many were sold
to the people in Tandjung Bunga.

●614 Wa When we went to Wailolong we met the assis-
241 tant on the section of Wailolong which is on
796 the side road near Leloba. He was there getting
231 census material. We went off there and attended a rite of the Leworita suku, or rather
one of the ama of the suku. It was the rite
for the beginning of the agricultural season.
The big kampong rite was held first, and here
it was held on Christmas. Then, each suku has
a similar rite, and then again each ama. They
are just now getting around to the ama rites.
[343] In this section there are two kebang (lumbung
or barns) adat, i.e. suku or ama barns. The
big kepala barn is that of the Number One suku
(here Ama Dotang [usually Ama Kottang] which is
near the main korke). The two suku represented
here are Lewodoreng and Leworita. This rite
was held under the adat barn of Leworita (where
jaws of sacrificed pigs hang), but the land is
owned by Lewodoreng. This is why the men who
played the roles of Kottang and Kelen (head
and feet) were not from Leworita but from
Lewodoreng.

The old pagans (some were not so old) did the rites, but the Christians stood all around, and they ate what they could get later, probably. A small pig was brought in and then the prepa-

War
614 ration began. At the head of the group sat the
241 kelake of the Leworita ama doing the rite. On
796 one side sat two old men, one from Leworita and
231 the other from Hurint, who prayed. They were
merely the oldest and cleverest ones there.
[301] They were real pagans, with bobbed hair, red
necklaces of beads, and silver earrings. One
had a tattoo (relatively young fellow). One
[769] prayed steadily, giving generations of Leworita
and calling all these ancestors in turn, and at
each generation the other chimed in with a
chant. The rhythm was fine. On the other side
sat the three; the man from Lewodoreng Waru'ing
holding the head of the pig (as this ama has
the Kottang function in this suku); the man
from Engamaking holding the feet (as this ama
has the Kelen function in this suku); and the
man from Hurint, who cut, as usual.

178 To the side from these sat two old women
562 who were the tuno wudjo, one from Leworita and
796 one from Lewodoreng (they needed two because
887 the former was giving the rite, but it was on
241 the latter's ground). In the old days it was
614 always a young girl virgin who acted as tuno
wudjo, but there are no more in these groups
who are still pagan, so they have to use old
women. I can see the same thing on the schedule:
in Wailolong there are some tuno wudjo who are
very young (e.g., three or four years old) as
they are not yet Christians, but others are very
old pagan women. Thus, the pagans are making
the best of it, but what can they do when the
old women are dead? The answer is found in
Leloba, where they no longer are able to have
rites. They have given up the suku and ama
rites, but still have the kampong agricultural
ceremonies. First, however, a mass is held in
[769] the chapel, and then they say prayers, but are
allowed to recite the names of the ancestors.
They no longer use the tuno wudjo, however.

Wa.

178 After the ancestors are called, the pig is cut,
562 first sawed through the neck until the windpipe
796 is cut, and then with one blow the head is cut
241 off. The assistant said that if it is a big
887 pig, a strong blow is required to knock the
769 head off with a single sweep.

●614 Note that the two old men who prayed were from Leworita and Hurint. Evidently this makes no difference, but they do choose old people who know prayers (however, they have one from the suku giving the rite, as he must recite the names of their ancestors).

[276] Then betel was prepared and passed around. As the pig bled, blood splashed on the tusk which was lying on the ground beside one of the posts. This is a ritual tusk and is not very large. It is owned by the ama and is not used for bride prices. The second part of the rite--to give the food to the ground and posts --came next. The tuno wudjo and other old women took the rice and heaped it on a plate like a hillock. The men cut out the liver of the pig and chopped it up. The mixture was put on the ground, or rather a bit of it was, and also smeared on the four posts of the barn. Gin was
[273] meanwhile passed around (we got some), and it was also poured on the ground and sprinkled around under the barn. We left after this as the rite was over, but they went on to cook and eat the pork with the rice. This is a relatively small rite, although it was a part of the entire planting ritual complex.

614 One can say that each grouping (or, as the
241 assistant says, each barn) must have agricul-
796 tural rites. Thus, the system runs down from
the big kampong-barn-suku Kottang rite, with
343 all the suku there and all the tuno wudjo (of
all suku and ama); to the suku rites at each
suku barn, and all suku and tuno wudjo at these
too, in all five rites; and finally to the ama-

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614 barn rites, with only the ama tuno wudjo and
796 members present. All of this is done in order
241 to make the rice in the fields perfect. The
343 other great ritual complex of an agricultural
nature is at harvest time, and they may have
a third type if there is an especially good
harvest (like the thanksgiving feasts of the
Toradja).

778 I asked about the saoniwang, the magic stones
789 which are in front of the houses of all suku
342 and ama chiefs. Some have disappeared in Le-
614 loba and have not been replaced, but most of
823 them are still there. For example, the guru
has the mother stone before his house, and one
child stone, but other child stones are used
for foundations of houses. They are inserted
with many other stones in the masonry, but he
pointed to the specific ones. These saoniwang,
like the nubanara, which are placed in front of
the korke, are the big ones in the heap, the
mother, and the little ones, her children.
They hold the magic power of the chiefs, and
without them there is no power. Nevertheless,
in Leloba, even when the chief has no more
stones, he still holds some power, as if they
were still there. The guru has three for his
house, for war power, marriage power, and power
among suku, respectively. One of these is in
the hills behind. This, he says, has tremendous
power. He says such things seriously.

[773] These stones suddenly appeared long ago.
They came down from heaven after, or rather
with a heavy rain. Thus they are like the de-
scendance stones of, for example, Goa. Sao
means anchor and so does niwang. Thus the
meaning is that the power and with it the
group or man holding it are firmly and inex-
tricably tied to this land. However, all sorts
of stones are believed to have power. Many of
them are very little. Thus the kakang has a

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778 notable little stone with lots of agricultural
789 power. The objects which are possessed by the
●614 suku and ama have no magic power; they are
823 only a form of wealth.

621 The eight kampongs of the Mudakaputu ge-
832 meente are:

1. Leloba
2. Wailolong
3. Lewohala
4. Lewoneda
5. Mudakaputu
6. Watuwiti
7. Riang Kamiё
8. Riang Kanali

237 Economic note: The tusks are like the stone
583 money of Yap. They are the basis for the local
436 economy, but have little intrinsic value. The
452 non-existent tusks of Larantuka are even better, and the folklore concerning them is fantastic. They are reckoned with and theoretically exchanged when they don't even exist. They keep the marriage system going. They are parallel to pure paper credit--something like international balances.

621 The first six kampongs are the old time kam-
173 pongs. They were founded by the five sons of Lenurat or their descendants, who came out of Ili Mandiri. Thus the situation runs something like this:

Sons: (1) Belawaburak founded Leloba. (2) Keweluk founded Wailolong. (3) Kewaka founded Lewohala and Lewoneda. (4) Bampowa founded Mudakaputu. (5) Mado founded Watuwiti.

Daughters: (6) Emma married a man of Tandjung Bunga (and the folk there call the people of the Blakang Gunung region "blake," i.e., mother's brother). (7) Hingi married a man of Adonara (perhaps the people there would also

We

621 173 call the people from the Blakang Gunung region "blake").

Lewoneda is now mixed, as people came in later from Sina Djawa. Riang Kanali is a branch of Lewohala. Riang Kamië is very mixed. It includes people of the original (that is, Lenurat descended suku) and others. However, it was evidently founded by people from Kroko Putang, the island which disappeared, and whose refugees are all over Larantuka. For example, this is true of the radja kedua here. These folk are called Tenemau (meaning "sailed here in a prau"). Riang Kamië is the largest of all the kampongs. Formerly there was plenty of war between it and Leloba.

578 721 346 Lewowitin is the term for a traditional enemy kampong. Formerly heads were exchanged for the korke. These heads were not buried but hung in the korke (like animal jaws today? I also thought as I saw a pig killed, how easy it would be to imagine a human sacrifice instead).

614 621 173 829 In Riang Kamië there are many suku. The assistant cannot list all of them, but he remembers Kottang, Marang, Molang 1, Molang 2, Belowen, Lowalia, Lolamaki, Keleng, etc. There is no Hurint.

He says there are four kinds of people here, according to their origin:

1. Padji. They were here in plenty before, but they were all driven out by the Lenurat people, who are here called the Ili Djadi (Ili means emerged), the second group. The Padji were driven to Tandjung Bunda where they are still numerous, and also to the islands, for example to Adonara. They were evidently the aborigines, but he says there was no physical difference, even in the legends.

2. Demon or Ili Djadi. They drove the Padji out after emerging from the mountains, or rather after their father's emergence. The Demon or

614 173 621 829 [578] ~~We~~ The Demon or Ili Djadi are the original people here because the Padji are gone. They also are found elsewhere, and where they and the Padji are found together, as in Adonara, they still fight. The constant murders there are partly caused by this endless feud. They never live in the same kampong together.

3. Sina Djawa. These are descendants of people who came from the west. There are suku here which came from there. Thus the suku Lewonuhah (kampong, island) of Leloba is of Sina Djawa. So is the suku Lewato of Wailolong.

4. Tenemau. These people came from the submerged island Kroko Putang. There are suku here from these people. Thus, Leworita suku of Wailolong is Tenemau. [769] In the ceremony this morning the genealogy used to call the ancestors went back to the Tenemau. He says you can tell at once the origin of any suku by listening to the genealogies recited at the rites, because the ancestors are called.

582 124 Then we got onto the inter-kampong marriage system, and this is not so complicated as the intra-kampong marriage system. I jokingly said that perhaps he got so tired figuring out the internal system that he decided to make the extra kampong rules simpler. He was amused. He also seemed amazed at the building-up process of anthropological research which I use; for example, when I first asked the names of the eight kampongs and then went right on to ask the names of the sons of Lenurat, he saw that [791] I was getting directly at the system. He said that if the folk here heard me leading straight into the heart of the complete cosmogony they would think me a suwanggi. I also said jokingly that they couldn't call me a pontianak. He was also delighted with my admiration of how everything here falls into a system. 124 He has learned the word "sistim" and uses it all the time. He

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124 has also adopted the term kekuatan adjaib, and loves it.

582 The rules are as follows:

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Wailolong man	marries	Leloba woman
I		II-2, III
II		II-2, III
III		I-2, I-3a, IV
IV		I-1, II-1
V		I-1a

Thus no man of Wailolong marries a Lewodoreng woman of Leloba.

Leloba man	marries	Wailolong woman
I-1a		V
I-1b		III
I-2		I
I-3a		?
I-3b		I
II-1		III
II-2		IV
III-1		IV, V
III-2		IV, V
III-3		IV, V
IV-1a		I-c
IV-1b		I-c
V-1		I, II
V-2		I, II

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565 This brought out certain problems with the material recorded earlier. The subsibs in each suku are ranked according to first, second, and in some cases third. The terms are waru'i, waktukang, and tuhowutung. These mean, approximately, first, middle and last. Now we see that certain suku, subsuku, and sub-subsuku names are of one kind and some of another, and some have two names showing different meanings. These

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614 meanings are:
565 (1) Personal name of ancestral founder.
(2) Rank of the ancestral founder (pangkat).
(3) Power ranking of the group (1, 2, 3).
(4) Original kampong of the ancestors (for example, lewo).

And, I suppose, in the case of Kottang, etc., the rituals function as (5).

And then, perhaps, ones which have a mere name and no purpose; thus (6).

614 We didn't analyze all the names, but what we did goes as follows:

565 Leloba

551 I. Ama Kottang (function) (Kottang means "head").
  1. Belepe Lolong (meaning: "upper terrace").
    Buto Talu (ancestor personal name).
      (note: making means merely "descendant of")
    Lango' Bele' and Lango' Kene' (big and little house).
    This subsib is No. 1, or Ama Waru'ing, in the suku Kottang.
  2. Waktukang. (meaning "middle"). No ancestor name.
  3. Ama Marang (function) (Marang means "pray").
    Dong Laung (side of a sleeping bench which faces the sea).
    Dong Raeng (the side of the sleeping bench facing the land).
    This is the Tuhowutung or last subsib of the suku Kottang.
II. Ama Keleng (function) (Keleng means "feet").
  1. Tuakerura (just a name, no significance) (this is No. 1 or Waru'ing subsib of suku Keleng).
  2. Ama Belemang (a ritual function) (rank of ancestor).
    This is the last ranking subsib of the suku Tuhowutung.
III. Ama Hurint (function) (Hurint means "cut").
  1. Ama Waru'ing (No. 1); may also be called

Wa

614 565 551 Ama Wadjundiri, the ancestor's personal name.

2. Eramolik (ancestor personal name). This is No. 2 subsib, or Waktukang.
3. Ola Demong (ancestor personal name). This is No. 3 subsib, or Tuhowutung. Lango' Bele' and Lango' Kene' are big and little house.

IV. Lewodoreng (original kampong name).
  1. Lewamaking (personal name of ancestor). This is the No. 1 or Waru'ing subsib. Nipatale' (meaning?). They are slave descendants.
  2. Ekimaking (ancestor's personal name). This is the last ranking subsib, or Tuhowutung.

V. Lewonuhah (original kampong name).
  1. Ama Kottang (the waru'i subsib).
  2. Ama Keleng (the tuhowutung subsib).

Wailolong

I. Ama Datong (function of Kottang, but Datong is the name of rank).
  a. Ama Radja (personal ancestor name). This has the last subsib rank, Tuhowutung.
  b. Ama Belolong (has the rank of No. 1, or waru'ing, and Belolong means "high").
  c. Ama Rere (Rere means "low"). This subsib is notable. I have some important corrections about it.
     There are two subdivisions:
     (1) Ama Rere. These, as told above, are descendants of war captives from Maumere eighteen generations ago. They own no land, have no ritual function, and have no duties.
     (2) Ama Rere Ama Tobi. (Tobi is a personal name). They are descendants of members of Ama Radja and Ama Belolong, who seven generations ago ran away from

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551 Wailolong to Bama because of troubles over marriage, bride prices, and perhaps others. They came back to Wailolong three generations ago, but although they were allowed into the kampong, they have lost their land and ritual standing. They marry like Ama Rere. It is remarkable to think that when the old people thinking what to do with these returned refugees decided to equate them with war captives!

II. Leworita (original kampong name) (function of Kelen).
   a. Suba (meaning? rank?; evidently a personal name).
   b. Harut (meaning? rank?; evidently a personal name).
   c. Tapopukang (meaning? rank?; evidently a personal name).

III. Ama Hurint
   a. Hadumboleng (personal name), Baka (personal name). (middle rank, Waktukang).
   b. Mari (personal name; rank No. 1, Waru'i).
   c. Mela (personal name; rank No. 3, Tuhowutung).

IV. Lewato (kampong name).
   a. Ama Waru'ing, also Ama Radja (the latter is the personal name of an ancestor).
   b. Ama Waktukang (just means middle; not a personal name).
   c. Tuhowutung (just means No. 3; not a personal name).

V. Lewodoreng (original kampong name).
   a. Ama Waru'ing (just No. 1 rank; not a personal name).
   b. Enga (a personal name; last rank, Tuhowutung).

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582 On the records there is a case of a man of

Was

582 ●614 IIIc marrying a woman of IIIa. This is something which happened two generations back when three men of IIIc married, for a high bride price, women of IIIa. However, this has been discontinued officially. The case did happen once, and it was definitely wrong. The assistant said it was incorrect. From the records I can see that there are very few endogamous marriages. The assistant says that they are a rare exception even today, although a few do it. It is wrong. The great bulk of the people here follow the rules strictly.

The suku Lewodoreng, in either Leloba or Wailolong, cannot marry with Lewonuhah. They are in a relationship of metemereng, i.e., older sibling--younger sibling. There is something to the elder--younger sibling business which constantly crops up here.

622 [614] The three kepala kampongs in each kampong are called kepala kampong Kottang, kepala kampong Keleng, and kepala kampong Hurint. These should be the Radja Tuans of the three main suku, i.e., the kepala suku or tuan tanah. And some of them are. However, it may be that the radja tuan may not want the post of kepala kampong which he may have, and so he gives this job over to a relative, in every case I have heard of, to a brother. Thus Roy is Radja Tuan of Hurint in Leloba, but he has given the kepala kampong post to his younger brother. There may be other variations too. Thus Leloba has only a kepala kampong Keleng and a kepala kampong Hurint. The kepala kampong Keleng is also the brother of the Radja Tuan Keleng, who has given over the post to him. There is no kepala kampong Kottang in Leloba now because the Kakang of the gemeente was the occupant of this post formerly, and since he has been in the kakang post, his former post has not been filled.

War

582 I asked if there were many marriages between
614 Wailolong and Leloba. He said that before
177 there were many because they were allies and
578 nearby. In 1912, however, when the Dutch came
797 in, his father, who was the head man of Leloba,
decided it was useless to fight. Wailolong,
however, decided to resist. This strained the
friendly relations which had existed before,
and until recently there have not been too
many marriages. I also wonder, inasmuch as he
mentioned in this connection that missionaries
entered the region in 1907, whether the more
rapid Christianization of Leloba might not also
have strained relations with the relatively
resistant Wailolong.

124 After telling me that he was in fine spirits
177 because my pyribenzamine had cured his asthma,
578 he said he was also happy because he got such
123 a fine reception in Wailolong when he went from
609 house to house getting the census material. He
had been afraid of this, and thought that the
people would snub him. This would have made
him much ashamed. This was also why he insisted that we get the kakang to order the
Wailolong folk to give the information. Now
he reports that he was received with open arms
and that the Wailolong folk say they are delighted that a big man of Leloba is coming
among them to work, and that also big men from
the United States are getting their names and
their customs down on paper. They said that
they felt submerged for many years (and their
kampong looks a bit dingy and dispirited) and
that now they are having a rise. It looks to
me as though Roy really feared a bad time, and
this shows that the probable relations between
these two communities were really distant until
we came. We may have brought peace and good
609 will to the two kampongs. It is also amusing
123 to note his remark that when we first appeared,

We

123 the Wailolong folk were suspicious. They said,
609 "Who are these guys? Can it be that now that
Holland is going out we are going to be taken
over by the United States and that they are
the advance agents of American imperialism?"
He has explained to them that we are interested
only in adat, etc., and they are now contented.

614 We discussed a certain rank which appears in
343 the record. It is nu'a luka. There must be
562 one of these, a woman, for every kepala suku
243 and kelake (except, as in the case of kepala
suku and kelake, when the same woman is both
nu'a luka suku and nu'a luka ama). As Roy puts
it, every "barn" (that is, an adat barn, for
there are many ordinary barns) must have not
only a kelake but also a nu'a luka. These
women do two things:

(1) Pass out rice seeds to the planters.

(2) Pass out rice to the workers after cooking. They were often the wives of the kepala suku and kelake.

[114] We also noted a possible error in Vatter.[1]
614 He has (I think) only one tuno wudjo. There
796 are as many tuno wudjo as there are kepala suku
831 and kelake and nu'a luka. That is, each "barn"
784 must have one. These were formerly young vir-
241 gins, but now with so few young girls still
[857] pagan, they are either (1) old women still re-
[887] maining pagan or (2) very young girls, almost
[797] babies, who are as yet unChristianized. (Ironic
note: The Catholics have destroyed the one
"virgin trait" in the old culture by not letting
them have little girls for tuno wudjo.) (I
remember how impressed Roy was when I indicated
the parallel between Mary and the virgin tuno
wudjo.) These tuno wudjo are evidently posts
held for life, or at least as long as they remain pagan. They function at the rites each
year, and for the whole growing season they
cannot eat sacrificial animal meat (pig and

[1] [See bibliography, cat 113 -- Analyst]

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831 goat; and buffalo?). During other months they
● 614 may eat such food. This figures out to be
241 roughly about one half of the year. Some of
796 the ama have no nu'a luka, for example, Ama
784 Rere. Indeed, Roy says they must not be too
strict about this system because there are
plenty of holes in the ideal scheme. As we
115 were finishing up the work he got a note telling
124 him to meet the Radja at the kakang's
house for a conference. Evidently he is becoming
a big man here. We are perhaps partly
responsible.

He is making a map, and his daughter, who goes to the nun's school in Larantuka, is doing the drawing.

The next morning, Sunday, we went back, and
632 arrived while church services were being held.
796 They expected the Radja to visit today, so they
had removed a section of the fence to let his
car in. He never showed up, which was a disappointment
to them, as they were all waiting
[621] around. The name of the section of Wailolong
where we saw the rite yesterday is Apukule(ng).

578 We asked about the bonds of friendship and
721 enemy relations here. It is clear that seven
of the kampongs are always friendly, and are never at war with one another. The eighth, Riang Kamiё, has been the traditional enemy of each of them in turn. They are all descendants of Lenurat, whereas the folk of Rian Kamiё are descended mainly from Kroko Putang folk, mixed in with some Sina Djawa. Most enmity against Riang Kamiё has been, as usual, by kampongs bordering Riang Kamiё. Always, border wars are the most frequent here. Thus, Leloba, Wailolong, and Lewohala are involved. The traditional enemy kampong is Lewowitin. The others are brothers, just as in fact or legend their founders were.

The main causes of wars were, in order:

We.

582 in other areas, or working in the gardens lo-
476 cated in another kampong. Here again, it is a
602 matter of marriage. Indeed, only if marriage
621 gives a person some sort of privilege to work
in the other kampong does one usually engage
himself in such work.

632 Relations between districts have not changed
582 much in recent years. If there are marriages
602 between the districts involved, the same situa-
tion obtains as between the kampongs just de-
scribed. Similar situations are those involv-
ing different tribes. Bonds are formed if
there are marriage links; if there are no such
[478] links there are no bonds. Trade is so small a
factor that it is unimportant in intercommunity
relations.

186 The people here love their own kampong and
621 feel that they are lost when they are outside.
166 Figuratively and literally, they have no place
in another kampong. They can see good in an-
other kampong, however, and if they go else-
where and return they tell about the good
things there and may even adopt them themselves.
Only the young people, and few of them, want to
get out and see other places. Once they are
married they never leave.

609 They say that if they leave their own kam-
pong for another they become outsiders. They
are then nipatale (beyond the fence). The
other term used in suku terminology for out-
siders is rere. It means "low." The opposite
term, which also occurs among the suku, is
belolong ("high").

578 All seven kampongs have been enemies of Riang
621 Kamië. The seven have remained about the same
614 in relationship to each other, but tales tell a
173 bit about the ranking among them. Riang Kamië
was formed by a union of several kampongs which
were separate formerly. These united into one
kampong in defense against the Bai Pitu (seven

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578 children). There are no Ili Djadi descendants
621 in Riang Kamië at all. The folk are mostly
●614 descendants of Kroko Putang, although there are
173 some from Sina Djawa. Among the kampongs which
united to form Riang Kamië were Lamalewa, Beluwela, and Lamaliang. There are now fifteen suku in Riang Kamië. The old kampongs are still used for the sections (as is so often the case in Indonesia).

[211] The Kroko Putang origin (Tenemau) is symbolized by the wooden prau model in the korke of Riang Kamië.

621 The Sina Djawa folk were liked by the Ili
614 Djadi people, however, because when they entered
they brought iron, flint and steel and other
173 "high" things. Many suku were taken into the
177 kampongs from the Sina Djawa. They brought
773 with them good weapons. Riang Kamië is the
largest kampong here. Its population is about
[161] one thousand three hundred (Wailolong and Leloba have about seven hundred each). There is a lot of material on the legendary relationships between the ancestors as seen now in the kampongs. Thus, the two original Ili Djadi were a brother and sister, covered with hair. They came out of the mountain and a Padji girl on the shore saw a fire on the mountain. They were then discovered, and the Padji girl, Hadumboleng (a different person from the Ama Hadumboleng in the suku list), married Lenurat. Thus the Ili Djadi are Padji on the mother's side. The girl, however, sister of Lenurat, married a Timor man, Pategolo. The Radja of Larantuka is descended from the latter union. Thus Timor is involved in the male origin and Ili Djadi in the female origin. Also, the kampongs which are descended from the Pategolo-Watuwele (this was the name of Lenurat's sister) union are on the beach side of the mountain, and they are Waibalun, Balela, and Lokea. The last is the Radja's kampong.

War

000 Radja's kampong.

721 There used to be much warfare with the Mohammedan coastal folk too. And war was waged with other districts and tribes, but this was rare, and was largely tied up with the higher politics of the radja. A pure border war, however, was one carried on with the district Lewotala.

186 621 484 Only a very few people locally have been in other places enough to have inferiority feelings about their own village. They have all seen the town of Larantuka, but this is not much and they get tired of it after a little while. Those who have, for example, seen Makassae, of whom there are very few, are less happy when they come back. This is a real difference. They tell a lot about the big town. Thus, the truth is that in all Flores the towns are so little and are so much like the kampongs (i.e. dull), that there is little contrast. Therefore, they see no advantage locally as over against the kampongs. Of the kampongs here all are about the same in wealth and land holdings. Lewohala and Watuwiti have a bit better land and perhaps more of it; thus, in general, one place is about as good as another.

721 178 578 691 693 Wars were waged over borders, women, and molesting children. Now warfare is outlawed, although they still carry it on in a modified way. For example, there is a dispute of this kind going on now between Leloba and Waibalun, although the chief says that they must not carry on a war. There have been repeated grievances; their patience is gone. A band goes out hot for revenge and although the chiefs in general try to keep the people from war they are unsuccessful. Most disputes are settled by legal procedures, with the kakang as the main judge and the
693 kepala kampong, radja tuan, and kelake of the kampongs concerned making up the court.

●614 For inter-suku cases, the court is made up

War

693 of the three kepala kampongs, the kepala suku,
●614 and the kelake. For intra-suku cases, the court
consists of the kepala suku and the kelake.

608 They have blood brotherhood bonds between
721 kampongs like the pela darah of Ambon. They call this umbadja or bela badja. Badja means pledged. The bond is formed by the chiefs of the kampongs cutting their fingers and drinking each other's blood mixed in a drink. They take only a little blood. This means that the two kampongs will not wage war against each other and that there will be no infringement of recognized boundaries. It means perhaps that they will help each other in war, but this is not necessary. It is a peace bond rather than a war alliance.

About every year the umbadja kampongs (there are none here as they are brothers anyway) have a get-together like the "bikin panas pela" in Ambon. The one kampong here which they know has a bela badja is Watuwiti, which has one with the district Lewotala.

773 The whole organization and everything else
796 here has a story about it, and these stories are endless. One could fill many books with the underlying legends about one kampong here. Every single rule, relationship, rank, etc., has its legendary rationalization. And ritual keeps the belief alive. Ritual is the acting out of past events which explains and justifies the present order. The ancestors are called upon to attend these rituals.

609 To be foreign in the local sense is a matter of great concern. Anyone they do not know is treated as a foreigner. This includes anyone from another kampong, and even though they may know another kampong person, if he enters they all ask him what he is after. The communities are really closed. Persons of another district are really alien. The word for stranger is

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173 can be used in war, as magic, and thus perhaps
621 Mado was the war sorcerer who perhaps did the
565 magic stuff which in the last analysis scared
789 the damned Padji away. This kind of medicine
is called breni.

173 I asked if all the children and other people
here know this story, and he said yes. It is
evidently the main legend. He said that they
do not know it perfectly, but the main facts
and events are clear and everyone knows the
story.

There is a market place at Okka crossroads
443 every Wednesday. There used to be another on
the beach on the way to Larantuka (where the
Padji once lived) at Delang, but it is no longer
there. It was held on Friday. There is a market
place in Larantuka town, and the market is
held there every day. However, there is no
market week system. He knows of one in Adonara.
He says it is no use to hold elaborate
markets because they have no surpluses to sell.

583 The only exchange here is that connected
● 614 with marriage. The woman-giving suku gives
fish to the woman-receiving suku, and the latter
gives fowl to the former. If these suku
are in different kampongs, there is the exchange,
but it is a matter of suku and not kampongs.
And again it shows how marriage is the basis of
the whole organization.

As a result of the last World War the hori-
829 zons in terms of the world at large were some-
[178] what extended. For the first time, the people
here heard of Japan, the United States and other
countries. This was much the same thing that
took place all over Indonesia. Fifty years ago
no one here knew about such countries. As for
other places in Indonesia, all they knew fifty
years ago was Sina Djawa, to the west. Since
the war they have learned at least the names of
a few other islands. This is really epochal on

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346 This costs money, at least. With cleverness,
797 Pastor Krol told how the scheme is working to
get the folk to sell their tusks in order to
get money to contribute to the new church.
This works on the grounds that the people were
careless with their fire in the fields when
there was a high wind, and this caused the burning
of the church. It is all a wily game, and
the pagans are lost.

797 This whole religious matter is endless. It
182 is the most powerful acculturation thing here,
and the whole weight of Catholicism is on the
769 last few pagans. The guru is full of the propaganda
of rationalization. For example, he says,
how do we know where the ancestors are? If
they led good lives they are in heaven; and if
not, they are in the sea (hell). And if they
were good they must be in heaven, even though
they were not Catholic, because they knew nothing
of the Word when they lived.

632 The next day we started by clearing up a point
●614 about the radja tuan. He may come from another
ama than the No. 1 or waru'ing ama. Thus in
Ama Datong suku the present Radja tuan is the
kelake of Ama Radja, which is the No. 3 ama.

Roy said that not only officials have magic
789 power, but that also all members of the noble
565 families have some, though not so much as the
171 chiefs. They definitely have more than common
865 folk. This is why one must show respect to the
uppers. It is like Bone in Celebes, but less so
perhaps. For example, they are very much afraid
of hitting a noble child.

756 A sorcerer (molang) receives respect too,
754 even though his post is not hereditary. Some
[462] sorcerers, however, are noble. Sorcerers may
be male or female, and indeed Roy thinks most of
them are women. I asked how one got to be a
molang, and he said that in general they get a
call while dreaming. It is a matter of getting

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178 religion, when he knew so much about the old
797 ways and his ancestors were so important in
565 it, then this new religion must be all right.
177 (Here we see the old theme of converting the
769 chiefs first. And all the magic aspect is
clear too.) He admitted that if the nobles
had been against Catholicism it would have been
much more difficult (impossible? Note India,
where the handicap of missions has been that
most of the people converted have been untouchables; and the joy of the missions has been
whenever they could snare a Brahmin.)

797 Roy says that they received Catholicism at
175 first gladly and were interested and liked the
medicine. Then there came trouble, however, when
they saw that the Catholics were determined to
wipe out the old things. Then came resignation.
The trouble started when the Catholics began to
win. Thus there were three phases, starting
with the conversion of the first man, Guru Bala,
in 1885:

(1) 1885--1912: period of amicable relations.

(2) 1912--1920: the pagan fight, and real conflict.

(3) 1920 to the present: the surrender and acceptance of the inevitable.

[614] Bala was of the suku Lewonuhah.

565 Even now, the asli, the men of real noble
177 descent, have the power and prestige. It is
very hard, indeed impossible, for a commoner,
no matter how clever he may be, to bring in alien
things. If a commoner tried he would be killed.
If he is a noble, he will find things easier,
but he too had better be careful, for if he is
a "trouble maker" he too might be thrown out
(killed?).

797 In Wailolong the first Christian was Pulo,
177 converted by Bala in 1890. Conversions were
798 slower here than in Leloba, and paganism still
184 holds on. Because it was slower there, Roy says
578

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000 they might try reasoning with them, they would
go no further.

584 The same story holds for marriage. If a
762 child does not like his parent's choice of a
mate, the marriage does not occur. There have
been a few cases, however, of suicide (always
by hanging) on the part of both men and women,
because of desperate love and mismarriage.
This is interesting, and if I have the time I
will try to get these cases down.

582 The marriage system is the thing, and it is
835 exogamous with complicated rules. There has
•614 been no change. Even the very few cases of
178 endogamy have not increased. The only thing
that has been modified is the fact that there
is no longer an allowance of blood mother's
[177] brother's daughter marriage. This is a Catholic
taboo. This is true at least in Leloba, although
I am not sure about Wailolong. They have to be
careful to have fourth grade distance (that is,
third cousins, via great grandparents). What
the system allows is the choice of a mother's
brother's daughter (that is, married into the
suku of the man's mother) or married into one or
two other suku of the ama linked with his suku
by marriage. Thus a boy of Hurint Demong (the
guru's may marry Belemang, Belepe Lolong A, or
Waktukang Keleng. If his mother was Belemang,
this would work out all right. In the old days,
this would have been the best thing for him,
that is, a girl of his mother's group (I want
a girl just like the girl that married dear old
dad). This is because of the good relations already,
and anyway they like these close and
reinforced linkages in suku relationships. It
is not a matter of bringing back the tusks more
rapidly, as one needs to make three moves anyway,
and they can do this if they marry in any other
group aside from the mother's. But, even in the
old days, though this mother's brother's daughter

582 marriage was preferred, it was not required, be-
178 cause the boy could also marry a girl of an en-
614 tirely different group from his mother's, for
835 example, Belepe Lolong A or Waktukang.

Nowadays, the easiest thing to do is merely to disregard the mother's brother's daughter stuff, as this requires care in observing that the relative must be at least a third cousin, and they marry in one of the other allowed groups. This is the leeway that the traditional system allows. When it is a question of close figuring, Roy says that they usually ask the priest to settle the situation for them. A good case of this was with the guru's son, who is now in Makassar. He was in love with a Belemang girl, but this was the ama of his grandmother, and the girl was his mother's brother's daughter--cousin via his grandmother, i.e., only a third degree relative. Therefore Roy went to the priest, and the latter (I suspect they are always indulgent in this matter if it is not a first cousin) said that if they were that desperate he would give a special dispensation (he uses a word for this that sounds like isin, but I must ask about this) (idjing). And so the boy was married. The way to do this correctly is for the boy to marry his mother's mother's mother's brother's son's son's son's daughter. This is via the great grandparental generation. Note that it has to go up via women and down via men. This works out all right if one notes that under the mother's brother's daughter rule this brings the proper amas into the relationship (I may be wrong on this and must check on it later).

582 I was much impressed when he said that there
835 is a good reason for the Catholic rule. I had
827 tried to say that it is not in the Bible and
177 that Protestantism had not worked out this rule
and yet they were Christians too, that the ancestors thought it was all right and indeed de-

Wa.

611 However, all children are descended patrilineally.
583 That is, there is no ambil anak here. In any
● 614 case, the bride price must be paid eventually.
591 It may even take two generations to do this,
but the debt is remembered and the books must finally be balanced. This eventuates as follows: If a man can't pay with tusks, he pays with a daughter. It may be any daughter, the first, second, or later daughter. If the man has no daughters, the debt remains and must be paid someday. But, she does not become a member of her mother's sib. She remains a member of her father's sib and marries as though she were a full member of it. That is, all that happens is that when she marries, her price goes to her mother's sib. This is a very peculiar arrangement, and it is purely for monetary reasons. The sons are called anak suku. The daughters are called anak gading ("elephant-tusk children"). Thus the price of a woman is either tusks or a daughter. The daughter who is given for the price may live matrilocally or patrilocally, depending on where her parents live.

582 There are some marriages between Wailolong
621 and other districts. Roy can think of cases
614 with Lewotala, Wolo, and Lewinga, and he thinks
there are others. I asked him how they figure the marriage rules in such cases. He said that if there were already suku there which corresponded to those in the kampong, the situation was easily resolved. If previous marriage relations existed between the two areas, it is also a simple matter to figure out the marriage relations. If no previous marriage relations exist, it is easy to figure out anyway, as none of the rules applies. Thus Roy's brother married a girl from Roti whom he met on his travels. This was no problem, as she was far outside the
582 pattern area. What usually happens, however, is
584 that a boy, for example, sees a girl at the

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832 those rascals. They scolded them, saying that
684 if they wanted women, they should ask about
628 them, and speak up about it. That is, they were
willing to hear a request, but it had to be done
through regular channels without chiseling.
("If you had come to us decently, etc.")

582 In regard to the relative ages of the couple
when marriage takes place, the ideal is to have
a couple whose ages are nearly the same. If
either is older it is better for a boy to be a
bit a girl's senior. If there is too great a
discrepancy in age, it is not good.

595 His grandfather had four wives. I note that
183 he does not seem to regard polygyny as very bad,
even now. And he does not hesitate to tell me
that other Christians do this. It is simply
that they do not get the sacramen for the second,
or third, or even later wife. That's all. Dispensation is called isin.

582 He says that the people in Tandjung Bunga
836 marry when they are very young, and that they
begin their sex life as early as nine years old.

178 In the old days, the boys in Leloba and Wailolong slept regularly in the korke or sebuang
513 (the ama korke, and this is a correction:
882 sebuang does not refer to the barns of the ama,
[346] but to the cult houses).^ I think he said that
● [614] this is not done any more in Wailolong. It was
not required, but they just did it. This took
place after a boy reached the age of about sixteen. Roy did it himself. They liked this because it was more fun. They could talk, sing,
discuss girls, etc. (I think it was practically
a rule, and I wonder what they would have said
if a boy did not go there.)

What has happened now is peculiar. The boys
178 sleep together in groups, wherever it seems
513 good. They get in the habit, for example, of
882 sleeping on the benches of a certain house, or
171 in a vacant house, etc. (Thus I see that the

^[See cat. 116, p. 166--Analyst]

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513
882 Ambon and Ceram youth-club houses are really
178 survivals of the regular thing.) In Leloba the
[171] main hangout is the "pasanggrahan" (bivak),
where there are seldom any guests, and the boys
simply take over. Kattenburg inspected it and
found that it has sleeping benches and even a
[836] few walled compartments. He asked the kepala
kampong if perhaps the girls did not slip in,
and the kepala kampong said that this was absolutely
not the case.

178 In Wailolong there is a guru from Bama,
513 where they have regular boy's houses. This
882 fellow has introduced a new type of boy's house
177 in Wailolong (but no other kampong in this area
● 614 has one), i.e., he has built three on the Bama
pattern and the boys sleep there. One of these
is our "office" when we use it. These boys'
houses are arranged according to suku, and are
shared by suku. This is a remarkable case of
acculturation within a pattern from one district
to another.

[562] The girls have no such houses, and never did.
882 However, before, as today, they seldom sleep
561 with their parents when they get older. Groups
887 of them have hangouts where they sleep together.
513 These groups are of friends. They weave together,
etc., and like to gossip, sing, etc., at night. They just fall asleep there, together. This may be a sleeping bench, or it may be that they get a section of a sleeping bench in one of their parents' houses. There they bunch up. Everyone knows where the groups hang out. Kattenburg found that even old women sleep in groups. They may be, I think, groups of "the girls" who are old and widows, and who go back to their girlhood days and sleep with their coevals, and have a good time. If this is so, it is practically a revived age-grade for the girls who in their youth grew up and slept together and now at the end of their life bunch up together again.

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000 up together again.

●614 Some of the suku are large, some are small,
and some have died out. They have the same
171 idea in this regard as I noted on Ambon: that
789 a group which dies out may well have disappeared
because of a wrong committed in the old days.
It is as though there were a curse on them.
Roy mentioned a case of an ama (I think) which
did a lot of killing. Now it is extinct. Another group used too much magic, and it too
died out. (Magic keeps cropping up. They
have taken on my term kekuatan adjaib with a
vengeance. I often wonder if they are kidding
[123] me, seeing that I like the pagan stuff.)

562 Roy says that the roles of the sexes has
178 not changed at all. However, when there was
708 much warfare formerly, the women were important
in helping the men by bringing in supplies,
encouraging them, and in making magic against
the enemy behind the lines. (Supply, psychological warfare, morale division, and "research.")

178 One firm rule which is changing today, however,
462 is that in the old days the women never did work
241 in the field, except for helping in planting and
in the harvest. This is still so in a large degree, and it is true enough that the women are
seen around the kampong all day while the men
are off in the fields. However, nowadays more
women go out and help with agricultural work.
This is a slow trend. In the old days men would
be ashamed to have women doing agricultural work.
This was not their role (and there is a very
sharp sex division of labor here).

Indeed, women have no work, properly speaking, except house work. They do very little
agricultural work, even today. The planting
stuff they do is clearly ritually linked, at
least in part, and the harvest is evidently always an exception.

562 Roy says that the women have equal status,

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721 at me and raised his brows, saying, "Ah, but
789 you are forgetting the kekuatan adjaib. It
was not a matter of men alone." I am accepted
as one who can appreciate the magical things.
In this case he was pointing to "those intangible factors which mean so much in warfare."

842 There are no limitations on the number of
children in a family. There is not even a
conflict here with the church. He did say,
however, that they know or think they know a
medicine (at least he has heard that some women
know about this) which might limit the number
of children a woman could have (or did I say
this?). Anyway, it is unthinkable.

The bigger the family the better it is. A
● [614] big family, ama or suku makes its members cocky.
[554] As Roy says, he is a member of Hurint, the biggest
sib here, and he would like to see the so and
so who would try anything on him. He would
have to settle with the group. Thus numbers
mean strength all along the line.

162 The average size of the family here is about
178 eight individuals. Formerly, about fifty per
cent of the children did not grow up. Now they
165 nearly all live (I doubt this, but evidently
758 the change has been so dramatic with the introduction of modern medicine and cleanliness that
it seems this way). I asked why, and they at
once said new medicines and cleanliness.

355 Women do most of the upbringing. The father,
368 for example, just looks on once in awhile. The
178 mother is the crux, as well as other women.
Later on, boys learn to work from their father
and girls learn their tasks from their mother.
The only change in all this is the school and
church, especially of course the former.

581 There has been no significant change in the
[178] concept of a "suitable man or wife." So little
has the pressure for mere existence lessened
that appearance and looks are minor. First of

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624 like the marinyo of Ambon. I asked what the
465 secretary got, and he said cigarette money
only. The pay is evidently very little.

583 Correction: Although he says there is no
case here now, he has found out that if the
●614 bride price is not paid, the children are of
611 the suku of the mother. And the bride price
784 must be paid at marriage. There is no post-
marriage payment in order to get the children
back. Thus there is real ambil anak here.
The man remains a member of his own sib, and
the wife a member of hers. Thus she assumes
the "married woman" totem taboos of her own
sib, not those of her husband's sib, as is the
more usual thing.

346 I asked about the rumah berhala of Wolojeo.
778 This group has a real house, and in it there
are four ana deo, two in bad repair. There is
614 one for each of the four suku. There are no
other suku in the kampong. There are also
plenty of belongings in the house. It is
rather large, about twelve meters on a side.
There are baskets and other objects therein.
This old kampong is only one kilometer off the
road in the hills at kilometer 17. I may go
there one day. The four suku are Mbonggi (the
kepala kampong is from this), Djo'bi, Soa, and
[769] Woro. The oldest suku is Mbonggi. There is
also a grave-bone shrine here, of the suku
Djo'bi.

771 The folk here are now mostly Catholic, but
they do have an annual ancestor rite, and the
769 Catholics attend too. The kampong Ratebedi,
far off in the hills, has fewer Catholics, as
is the case with the far off Bu'ube'i. The
distant ones remain pagan longer.

872 Fifty years ago there was no school. It came
178 in 1921. No one went to school before this.
212 They were totally illiterate (this shows how
000 recently the schools came in here). They were

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436 sionally one sees a ten sen ketip.[1] The Japanese
727 took everything. They also probably
melted down a lot of the coins. There is very
437 little barter here as they have so little
merchandise as real surplus. If they need
food badly, they may sell cloth in the mountains
for some form of food.

No one has a car. No one has ever owned a
493 car here. And no one can drive. Buses are
[435] very little used. The fare to Ende is fl. 0.50.

The owner of all the land is the mosa laki
423 mere of the kampong. He is thus the "tuan
●614 tanah. Each family has its own house and garden
622 land which is inherited. The parcels are
in family units. Land is not sold, bought,
or rented. There is also suku land, usually
too far off in the hills (where the kampong
lama of the suku is) to work. Thus the Odja
suku has some in Rabu, but they never use it.
The suku land in the kampong is under the giri
tumba. Evidently there are no kepala suku,
and thus no real suku property organization.
This is because the mosa laki mere was formerly
the kepala suku when the suku were localized.
In the kampong, most of the suku land is that
of Rewarangga, and indeed if one looks back
far enough, all of the land in Roworeke belonged
to Rewarangga suku. Note that the mosa laki
mere is of Rewarangga. The Odja folk were
given land for coming in and, for example,
helping the Rewarangga in warfare. Thus it is
possible, and evidently indeed usual, for incoming
suku to get pieces of land from the
mosa laki mere who is land master of the original
suku.

There is also undivided kampong land, and
[609] this may be developed by anyone with the consent
of the mosa laki mere. Even outsiders
may do this, for example, the people from Ende,
who live in the kampong.

[1] [i.e., small silver coin --Analyst]

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778 753 The negri lama of the suku Odja is about one-half kilometer outside Ratebedi in the distant hills. No one lives there now, but there are stones, etc. (I think he said images too.) The Ratebedi folk give offerings there. This was the kampong of the great ancestor Odja Djata (the father of Odja was Djata). There are many such old places which are dangerous, for example, the assistant went to one such place near Pamudjera, and he got sick at once.

[784] There is always talk of danger in fooling around with old places and old rules. Thus, not long ago two men of Watu Roga set a stone boundary marker in the earth, but this is taboo. In three days one was dead and in three months the other died.

174 If I could get all of the information about each kampong and suku I could rebuild the whole history of migrations, etc. And although most of the people have lost these stories, there are a good number of old men in Volofea and Bu'ube'i who could tell everything.

115 The assistant says he will try to get information on all these things as he does his "control" work in his job as secretary of the gemeente. He asks for a good notebook and a briefcase to do this work! I don't trust him, that's all. He plots, and the story is that when I come back years from now he will have all the facts. Thus he put together my interest in these things, my statement that I might return to do more work here, and out of hopes to get a notebook and case fabricated his plan.

423 ● 614 592 428 The land is family-owned (maybe lineage-owned is a better way of phrasing it). The eldest son is the manager of the family land. Others work on it. If there are no sons, the eldest daughter runs it, or maybe the deceased father's brother. The father may split up his estate among his sons, or give each one of his

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423 sons a parcel before he dies. Also, he may split
428 up his land among the brothers as the group gets
● 614 too large. When a group is really too large
592 for the estate, some may go to the mosa laki
[622] mere and get consent to develop a new piece of
waste kampong land. Also, if there are too many people for the estate, the men or some of them may work on their wives' families' land. This is considered all right.

428 As for houses, the eldest son takes over
592 the paternal house, and if there is room enough
614 all brothers and families may live there too.
Some may move off into new houses. Thus the present kepala kampong, Pala, is the eldest brother of the assistant, Migo. Their father was Pega. They are of the Pega lineage. Pala occupies the old house, Migo a new one. If Pala dies, Migo will take over the house and management of the family land. The eldest son is the big man all through the system, and posts descend via the eldest branch all the way down. The younger branches are always underneath. Nevertheless, they may set up a new lineage at any time. Thus there could be a branch-off with Migo, and his sons would be the members. However, they may keep the unit Pega for several generations, before splitting.

422 There is also the matter of the family
428 ritual possessions. These go down from eldest
614 son to eldest son all the way. Thus Migo has
none, because in his family the pusaka belongs to his brother Pala. However, a father may divide it up before he dies.

The family or lineage is the important property unit. Small articles, for example, clothing, may be individually owned, and the suku and even the kampong has property. But the crucial unit is the great family.

462 There is not such a strong division by sex
here. The women work at agriculture just like

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302 (Note: One thing he mentioned as brand new
178 is the matter of haircuts. In the old days they shaved the heads of the young, and some children still have these shaved heads. But the older people had their hair done in a long bob.)

624 All of the adat posts are the same today as they were before, and Migo said that indeed the most important man is the mosa laki mere, even now (aside from the kapitan, perhaps). The only post which is no longer kept up is the non-hereditary panglima perang, or atambani.

634 First there is the Radja of Ende. Then
565 come the families or lineages of the mosa laki,
●614 which are strictly hereditary, in an eldest son
632 succession. Thus the eldest of the eldest of the eldest, etc. This forms a kind of hereditary nobility, although it is not considered such. Aside from this, the suku have certain prerogatives now, and even before this was probably the case. And this leads to an important correction: It is true that any male member of the suku Odja or Rewarangga, and of these only, can become kapitan. He is chosen for cleverness (!). The Reandona suku has been trying to get a man into the kapitan's post for a long time, but unless Odja and Rewarangga agree, this is impossible. It is their business. This is why he originally wrote that every member of the Odja suku is "bangsawan." He thinks this is true in the other districts, but he is not sure. Certain suku have the pre-eminence in each district.

622 The kepala kampong post also must be within
614 the suku Odja, and the best man gets it. He thinks this is the same for other kampongs. Thus in Worowai, the kepala kampong must be from the Rewarangga suku, etc. Thus even the elective offices must be within a suku which

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622 carries on the prerogatives in a hereditary
614 fashion. If these posts are not so held, the
people will not follow the individuals who
occupy them.

In regard to magic power, he says that
789 there is none here. Not even the radja pos-
624 sesses any. Nevertheless, he says that every-
one, without exception, obeys the officers.
They just do it. He thinks that perhaps in
the mountain kampongs I might still find ideas
about magic power, but not here. I couldn't
get anything more about this. Thus the situa-
tion here is different from the magic power
and support of the ancestors which the officers
in Larantuka have.

793 The pastors have magic power (and here per-
789 haps I can say that they are the only ones who
today still have such power). They can wash
away sins, do miracles, etc.

All adat posts are passed on from eldest son
624 to eldest son in a pure succession manner. They
646 remain the same. The elections of the kepala
kampong and the kapitan are new. Also new are
the members of the Flores parliament and of the
East Indonesian parliament. There are two
electors in the district Rewarangga, for there
are about one thousand tax-paying men. There
is one elector for each five hundred tax-paying
men.

666 When there is an election of electors, the
kapitan calls all of those tax-paying indivi-
duals to his office, and he (the kapitan) posts
a list of four candidates (!!). Each man comes
forth clutching a stone, and he whispers his
choice to the two "guards". The guard slips
the stone in the proper pile. This is all done
secretly and by whispering (but the guards
know!). At first, the people here did not under-
stand this and had to be egged on to come to the
election. They did not know what it was all

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585 is to get the outfit ready. The outfit is
583 provided by the girl's family. Then they go
178 to the boy's house to settle down. This represents a big change. Elopement was never an established custom here, and it does not exist today. Formerly, marriages were arranged, and the girls and boys simply obeyed. Nowadays, the young are consulted, but there is still plenty of prearranged marriage.

582 Sib exogamy is still favored in the majority,
●614 by far. Formerly, this rule was very strong.
621 There are a few cases of endogamy with distant relatives, but not many. Formerly this never took place. Most marriages are inside the kampong. The only frequent exception is marriage with Watu Roga, across the street. There are plenty of marriages with Wanda suku, the main one there. Indeed, with the mother's brother's daughter arrangement, and so many Odja-Wanda marriages, it is just about a regular thing. Of course, however, there are plenty of Wanda people living in Roworeke too.

An extra-district marriage is very rare, except for Watu Roga, which happens to be in Lio, which is even in a different radjadom, although it is just across the street.

582 The average age for men at the time of mar-
178 riage is about twenty-five. Today, for women, the average age is twenty-one. And they insist that in the old days the average ages were much older. They said it was usual for a man to be well over thirty, and many women were thirty-five at the time they got married. The kapitan said that they "aged" much slower than they do today. He said that he didn't even have clothes until he was very old, relatively speak-
836 ing. I asked about virginity under these conditions, and he said that all women stayed virgins until they were married. If a husband found that his wife was not a virgin today, he would

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513 less pondok where in the daytime I see women
882 weaving. They call the boys' houses "kuwu." There are no girls' houses. The girls sleep with their parents, or rather each grown girl has a separate apartment in the parental house.

562 Males are more influential, and they give most
178 of the orders, but women will revolt if men do not behave. They will not give the men food, they will scold the men, etc. They act up, however, only if the men misbehave. And they are not afraid of doing so. The girls nowadays are a bit freer than before in regard to talking up, etc., but there is very little change, in general. The old folk are not too pleased about having the girls in school. They can't see the use of this.

614 Correction: It suddenly turned out that
597 there are two ata nggaeh nua in this kampong, Bapa Ketjil, for the Odja suku; and the brother (older) of the kapitan for the Gusa suku. If the suku is large enough, it has such an adat expert in a kampong. These are the only ones large enough here. Then the true story of the kapitan came out. He is not classified as a member of Odja, but actually he was born a Gusa. The former kapitan adopted him. He became a foster child, or ana gave (the g here is pronounced like the French uvular r). I asked if this was what Wouden[1] called ndueh, and they were surprised. It turns out that ndueh means "to have two wives." (How could Wouden's source have made this error?)

Such a foster child becomes a member of his foster father's suku. There is no ceremony; he just moves in. He takes on a new set of relatives, but also keeps his own. He becomes a kind of "double-suku" man. Thus the kapitan calls his real brother kaka, and also uses this term for his new brothers in Odja. But I note that he married an Odja woman, and it seems

[1] [See pp. 20&85 of van Wouden as cited in bibliography, cat. 113 -Analyst]

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614 that the exogamy taboo is off, as he still is
597 half Gusa. Also, he still must attend all suku ceremonies of Gusa, as well as those of his adopted suku Odja. Thus, indeed, he is a double-sibbed man. Note that he could become kapitan only via adoption, because only an Odja or a Rewarangga suku man can be, and this does not apply to a man of Gusa. This is a good case.

583 In former times there was a strong force
178 behind the ruling which made a child marry anyone chosen by a father. This ruling has weakened, but still survives. The force, however, is no longer absolute. If a boy or girl remains adamant, the marriage is not forced. This is why they do not pay the bride price early any more, as they are not sure that the children will obey them when they are grown, and they stand to lose the payment for a non-fulfillment of contract. The bride price is paid, and that is all.

611 The system here is patrilineal, and there has been no shift away from this in any direction.

162 The sex ratio here is about equal, and this is approximately the same as it was before. They think this is all right.

586 There is no divorce here, and there never
583 was. They at once said, "why in the world do that, when the bride price of a woman is so high?" (A good substantiation of the priest's point that the bride price is a good thing in order to keep and strengthen the marriage bond!)

684 I asked what happens in a case of adultery. They said that formerly as well as today a man was satisfied with a fine, and gets this anyway. If the spouse catches the couple in the act, he can kill both of them. This is the same as before. The wrong party, always the man in the case, must pay the injured mate a

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565 the present time. Thus the guru and the assistant
555 had illiterate, pagan, farmer fathers.

554 The only time one can see status marks is
● 614 at feasts, when the ornaments of rank are worn.
422 These are made of gold and are now largely
565 lost. Some still remain. They are suku
property, and not all suku have them. Odja
and Gusa have some (this may be why the kapitan
and others are mad for gold: they want
to get it in order to have ornaments made for
feasts and for ceremonial objects). If they
sell these objects, they will become sick. On
ordinary days, one cannot tell upper class folk
(for example, members of the Odja suku) from
ordinary people. They are really unclear about
this. Then I asked who wore no gold and who
had no such marks of status, if all of Odja and
all of Gusa and all the members of some other
suku had them. They said vaguely that those
who did not wear them were the "ordinary folk."
I asked who, the slaves? And they eagerly said
yes. I get the idea that there are not many
of these ceremonial objects left and perhaps
only enough so that the mosa laki or kapitan,
etc., can wear those of the suku at certain
feasts. They strut about wearing the suku's
wealth. And these things are suku property and
do not belong to the families.

614 The social order of the individual, family,
565 etc., here has not changed very much. The
624 most direct thing is that only certain folk of
[178] the right suku have land rights in the kampong.
[423] Within the suku, however, the mosa laki or
other office holder is probably a bit higher.
They say, however, that the mosa laki gets no
more of a bride price for his daughter than an
ordinary man gets for his. I can't get very
far in class investigation here, that's quite
clear. And now I see why he was so puzzled at
first when I asked him to indicate class distinc-

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614 tions. He put down just about everyone as
565 bangsawan, with the only exception being the
624 slave descendants and the absolute newcomers
to the kampong. That is, everyone with suku
membership who had a land privilege was included
in the category "nobles." This means
that there is no nobility properly speaking.
Thus the mosa laki offices are really only the
eldest branch of the eldest branch, etc., of
a lineage.

565 This reminds me that when I asked whether
624 the kapitan of Nggobe (whose ancestor Ambu
634 Nggobe of the legends and who was the first
789 tuan tanah here) might not really be a bigger
173 man than the Radja, they said that he could
well be that. Indeed, the tuan tanah of Nggobe
is legendarily the biggest man here, according
to the folk tales. And Rodja is big too. But
then so is the Djawi descendant, the radja.
Anyway, they are clear that the tuan tanah
here are really the old ranks, and the radja is
simply elevated to his present post only in recent
history. This is probably why the radjas'
hold is so weak here. They have no magic power
and never were really higher than the tuan
tanah. Thus the people here dare to rise
against them at any time. What they fear is
the government which stands behind the radjas,
as well as a certain amount of respect and whatever
the radjas have of ancestral claims according
to the old adat scheme. When I mentioned
the magic practices of Bone and the heaven-descent
sanction of radja power in South Celebes,
they seemed astonished. I am convinced. If
there has developed any real royalty feeling
here, it is rudimentary.

614 I asked whether perhaps there is a main man
624 of each suku. They said that the big man of
Odja is the giri tumba, and of Rewarangga the
mosa laki mere. In other kampongs and suku

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614 624 this is so too. Thus there is a kind of "kepala suku" in the form of one of the mosa who is hereditary in the suku. This means, however, that there may be suku with no big man in them because there is no hereditary rank in them. Such would be the suku which had lost their privileges in the old kampong of origin and which had not obtained any office in any of the other kampongs to which they have moved.

576 516 A lower person must sit or squat in the presence of the kapitan or mosa laki. This is respect. There are no honorific terms of address. They just call the officer by his title. Only the educated ones even know the use of the term "tuan."

789 I have been unable, even with the most extreme pressure, to get anything on magic power of individual persons here. The dukun and the bisa mari are just dreamers and clever ones with second sight and occult gifts. I can find nothing of the true magic power of office that clothes the radjas of Celebes.

611 184 Monday, January 16. Today I left Ende for Larantuka. I stopped and asked a man in Tana Ai about the matrilineal rules and finally got it out. It happened that the place I asked about this was over the border of Larantuka, to the east of Tana Ai, and he said that here in West Larantuka the matrilineal adat of Tana Ai is also found. In fact, he spotted the border for me exactly, which represents a new find for the book. These towns are in the matrilineal part of Larantuka: Unu, Palueh Lewalalang, Sukutukang, Riangwulo (which is where he and his group were from), Kedang, Bawalatang, Duang, Tabana, and Watubuku. These represent the eastern border of Tana Ai matrilineal adat. To the east of them all is patrilineal, that is, Lewotobi (e.g., Riangbarang). This is excellent material.

~~We~~ I note ~~also~~ that
554 there is a kind of mark of "upperness" in the [177] wearing of European shirts by the men! This [291] probably holds for the European dress worn by some women too.

195 Roy says that in Larantuka town there is a high and a low language, but I wonder if this may not mean that there is merely a polite idiom. Here in this area they all speak the same language, but use fancier language in the [554] ceremonies. The only titles are those of the listed posts. One must be respectful to the uppers.

●614 565 The whole rank system depends on genealogical descent. There are no rules in regard to interclass marriage, and everything depends upon the suku system.

634 565 The Radja of Larantuka is a descendant of the Ili, just as the other folk are. He is a bit mixed up with Timor, via Pategolo. And the Radja kedua is from Kroko Putang. However, the entire upper "nobility" is really integrated with the commoners. That is, there is no heaven descent. They are just like the other people, except genealogically they are ranked a bit higher. All power also depends on descent.

793 In 1905 the first guru of Leloba, Bala, started his religious work. He had been converted before this at the school in Larantuka. At that time there were priests in Larantuka.

361 In 1912 a church was built at the kampong lama of Riang Kamiĕ (this is another example of how much and how recently these kampongs have been moved from place to place). In fact, only in these years, all kampongs except Lewoneda were still in the hills. Wailolong was moved from the hills to the beach in 1913. At that time a guru was sent to Wailolong, and in 1922 or 1923 Wailolong moved to the present location.

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797 works, but I wonder if there might not be trouble if the central organization of the Catholic Church knew it. Still, perhaps the Catholics are indeed less doctrinaire than the Protestants. Surely the Jesuits are, with their different approach toward ends and means. There is a big contrast here with Ambon, surely.

788 Much of the former pagan ritual still survives. For example, there are field rites, beliefs, illness treatments, etc. The pagans still carry on plenty of the old ceremonies. Even the elaborate rites for planting, etc., continue.

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796 The tuno wudjo is still an important figure in planting rites of Wailolong, but has disappeared in Leloba since Vatter's^ day. The story is that she is a girl who was sacrificed in Lio by her seven brothers, to make the fields fertile. (They say that this is "to make the gardens fat.") Indeed, she told them to kill her in order to help. And the pieces of her body were sent to places all over Flores to make the fields fertile. The story is also found in Adonara.

Note: Lio is a great place for human sacrifice in relation to agriculture. The Radja of Lio not long ago was executed by the Dutch, and among his crimes was listed the killing of young girls for agricultural field rites. The people of Ende know this, and it seems generally known throughout Flores.

● [614]
[173] Note also: according to Vatter,^ one of the suku in Tandjung Bunga is Lio, and they are supposed to be descended from people who came from there. I wonder if perhaps this myth is not a sign of former human sacrifice in relation to agriculture all over Flores (or at least for East Flores), and it may also have originated in Lio and thence spread to here. Anyway, the

^[See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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796 story is clear in their minds.

241 Note also that a Sumba girl was sacrificed
782 for dry springs and fertility. The pieces were sent all over the island. Here we clearly have a pattern. I wonder if perhaps the proto-Malay
[174] strength in Lio may show a Sumba link, and human sacrifice of this sort may not have come into Flores with an eastward migration. There is a fair chance, I think, that they had at least two migrations into Flores: one from the west, the proto-Malay (and thence perhaps the stories in regard to Sina Djawa); and the other from the east, the Negroid migration, and thence the stories in regard to Kroko Putang and other ancestors from Timor, etc.

The tuno wudjo, ideally one for each suku and ama, are still used in ceremonies of all the kampongs here except Leloba and Lewoneda. Wailolong still uses them. The Catholics do not make much fuss about this. The Catholics must allow the rites. The tuno wudjo must fast for half a year or thereabouts, that is, there is a taboo on animals sacrificed for agriculture for them (could it be because they are substitutes for the tuno wudjo themselves, or is this too wild a guess?). It is notable anyway that only two kampongs have discontinued the tuno wudjo so far in this largely Catholic area. It shows how recent and relatively partial the Catholic hold on the population is here. It also shows how strong the agricultural base of paganism is and how important food can be in these terribly poor areas. The people cannot afford to take a chance, even with the old gods.

[771] I can discern no Hindu or Buddhistic elements here at all.

[346] The korke is the kampong temple. In addition,
[614] each suku and each ama has its barn for the "adat" rice, corn, etc. This is like a kind of temple too, and ceremonies such as I saw were

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527 risk, and one must tread warily and devoutly.
241 Observing all the rites and showing respect for the most important thing of all, food, is the proper thing.

[182] There are also feasts to ask for rain (held at the korke), and against widespread illness (also at the korke), for a new korke, for a new kebang, and for a new "big house."

Note that most of the agricultural rites occur in the fields.

Once in about every nine to ten years they have a great thanksgiving feast, if the crops are good.

[851] A small feast is given when a child is born, but there is no animal sacrifice. If twins are born, however, an animal is cut. Note the gladness displayed at the increase or income of any kind whatsoever, including an additional human being.

[585] There is no marriage feast at all in the old adat.

The biggest feasts are those held at harvest, for a new korke, and the thanksgiving feast.

[171] Note that the Toradja have the thanksgiving feast too, and I saw the start of it there.
[346] The new korke feast is now given when they have a new church!

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● 614
177 Note the way that the church links with the old cult. I remember almost the first thing I heard here was from the priest who said that the new church is being partly paid for by selling the tusks of the families whose carelessness caused the fire which burned the old church. He also said in the church, both in the old and the new, there are the signs of the four main suku. They have their place in the church. And I suppose they will cut up animals for the new church too. If so this sort of takes the wind out of the argument against constructing a new korke, namely, that it would cause too much of a waste of animals.

Wa

000 much of a waste of animals.

796 I finally found out which kampongs do the
●614 main ritual functions when they have a general
346 Belakang Gunung feast at which all kampongs
are represented. This is when they have a new
korke (or church). The order is as follows:

1. Kottang is Mudakaputu (descendants of Bampowa).

2. Keleng is Lewohala (descendants of Kewaka).

3. Hurint is Leloba (descendants of Belawaburak).

4. Marang is Wailolong (descendants of Keweluk).

5. The passer of food and drink and betel ingredients is Watuwiti (descendant of Mado). Thus they are the five brothers.

624 Hence we have the "sistim" which he himself
·614 is so impressed by. There are priests in the
793 sense that the radja tuan and the kelake are
565 really suku and ama priests. They are administrative and ritual officers. In addition,
789 there are priests and gurus of the new religion.
756 And there are the molang or medicine seers.
These have more power and influence if they are of bangsawan descent. Thus again the magic power of proper descent comes to the fore and we see that blood and rank affect even the influence of medicine men. Then there are the dukun, who are doctors but with magical aspects.

798 They are extremely liberal toward all religions. The only sign of any animosity I ever saw was toward Mohammedanism, and it was not even here except in Kampong Baru. The pagan resistance was more pronounced formerly. Today the two cults work together without much, if any, friction.

871 The schools are government schools, but the
797 mission runs them and evidently provides, but
658 does not pay, the teachers. The schools were

114 The island is fascinating for pure ethnography,
as I always expected. I am tempted every time
I look at the map to take time off and go into
491 those far hills. The entire northwest half of
Flores has no roads except for the Reo-Ruteng
one, and here would be good territory. The
793 priests know a lot, and really should be mobi-
lized for an ethnographic survey. And many of
them, for example Mommersteeg,[1] would like it.
103 The kapitan insists that the proper name is
114 Tanah Djea, and indeed this is a town to the
north of Nangapanda. Maybe the old authors
confused dj with r. [1] [pastor at Todabelu--Analyst]

As for Wolowai, which Wouden[2] (check his
source and track this down!) says is reported
to be matrilineal, there is a place to the
north of Nangapanda in the hills (thus in Tanah
Rea part of Ende shown on the Bruine[3] map) so
named. This is Wolowai and it is in Ende. I
wouldn't be surprised to find any kind of social
R organization in this island! What a place to do
814 a real survey. I asked about a few other things
582 in Roworeke. I made a final try to get a cir-
culating scheme out of the suku here, knowing
that they have mother's brother's daughter mar-
riage. I thought I had something when the
assistant started off saying that an Odja man
should take a Gusa woman, and that a Rewarangga
suku man should take a Wanda woman. But right
away it broke down, as the assistant himself,
an Odja, married a Wanda, and his son will marry
a Wanda, he says, in line with mother's brother's
daughter marriage. Also, Bapa Ketjil, an Odja,
married a Rewarangga. So what? He seemed to
think that perhaps once it went like this:

Men	married	Women
Odja		Gusa
Gusa		Some other
Some other		Odja

[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]
[3] [probably the Controleur at Lio--Analyst]

R

	Men	married	Women
● 614	Djawa		Some other
582	Rewarangga		Wanda
	Wanda		Some other

At all crucial points, he doesn't know! But he does say that once it was not allowed to marry in the suku. And he also says that a daughter must not marry into her father's suku (and yet I am sure there are some cases), while a son by preference should marry into his mother's suku. He also says that if once one marries into a suku, the sons should continue this custom. This is why he says his son should marry into his wife's suku. Thus clearly we have mother's brother's daughter preference, and father's sister's daughter taboo. And they seem to have some memory of a regular circulating scheme so based. However, the system has broken down, and so has the exogamy to some extent (but my guess is that the records will show few if any endogamous marriages). The trouble is, I had no time to ask or rather have him investigate how many of the present marriages of men are with women of their mother's suku. I will try to do a little detective work from the records. Because of the Hebrew "bin"
[551] system of names, I may be able to spot father and son. Anyway, I may be able to see whether there is any pattern to the suku marriage choices of the men.

114 I pulled out of Ende for the last time on January 21, and had a difficult time getting across the Nangaba, which is still in flood. With pushing, I made it. The motor stalled on me, as it is filty. It was a long day across to Ruteng, but I had no further trouble.

~~We~~ Weol: I started the last stretch of a week
124 here on January 23, on Tuesday. I went to the

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565 men. He will fill these in. So far as I can see, all the "locals" of Weol are noted as "bangsawan." I must discuss this. The same thing happened in Roworeke. Evidently there is no real nobility in these places, only the eldest-son lineage, which takes the high office. Maybe Linton[1] is right in his hunch regarding the basis of Malayo-Polynesian social organization, that is, primogeniture. This checks with all the talk about the kuasa tinggi [high power] of the older branch, the kaka and adi stuff, etc. As for totems, the key for Weol (he uses the local totem names) is: [114] ●614 784

rutung	porcupine
kenti	a leafy vegetable
kula	a kind of big mouse
atju	dog
lusa	red bean
giro	a kind of firewood (no burning totem).

All of these are merely the main totems, but there are others. Thus Weol clan has the lusa, but also the thin bamboo taboo.

591 583 4. I must ask whether the men who have come to live matrilocally did so because they didn't pay the bride price. He says that this is mostly the case, but not always. He says that he will have to ask this carefully, as he can't ask men directly because they are ashamed if they have not paid the bride price. He must ask others, "Why does so and so live here with his wife?" Then the dirt will come out. These men are Nos. 40, 110, 116, 122, 123, 127, and 132. All of this led to a discussion of the situation.

217 The pagans do not have any registry of marriages. The Catholics do not have to register marriages with the government (thus no marriage

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[1] [See bibliography, cat.113 --Analyst]

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178 342 the fields might not have been arranged like the places of the various panga or families in the old round houses. If so, it is beautiful.

592 614 The assistant says that in the old days when perhaps all of one kampong lived in a single house, the panga were like families therein. That is, since then the panga have expanded into subclans.

632 622 152 I asked if perhaps, before 1870, the tu'a tenu gelarang might not have been the highest chiefs except for the alien Bima sultan. He thinks that this is probably so, as there was no dalu until 1870. Then I asked if maybe even yet the tu'a temu gelarang might not really be more of a real head to the people than the dalu. He said that in the district, in all adat matters, especially land cases, the tu'a tenu was indeed supreme. And even the dalu would not dare to tread on his power in these respects. Then I asked if the dalu were all of Bima origin. He said he thinks so, but that the people are afraid to say so. I asked if any of them have family trees, and he said they must have them. Then I caught him, as I reminded him that his wife was of the "dalu" bangsawan! I asked if her ancestors were aliens. He, embarrassed, said yes, they are said to have been. She is of the Rahong dalu bangsawan. I pressed the case by asking whether her ancestors came from Bima. He said that it is said they were from Pulo Rintja! This is a practically uninhabited island between Flores and Komoda!

This remark about being afraid to say anything about the dalu led me to remark that Manggarai seemed to be a part of Flores which was always under alien rule. He looked a little startled, but saw the point. Evidently, any mention of these "imperialist" matters causes a fear reaction. This came out when I asked if perhaps the tuan tanah was really more powerful

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632 622 152 than the dalu. This, it seems, is the kind of thing that is not discussed!

I must get the dalu relationship straight.

I asked if there was really a Radja of Riung, 634 and he said yes. He is on the same level as, for example, Nageh. He said that there has been a radja there for a long time. The radja there now is a Ngada, but the folk there are 342 178 mainly Manggarai. The houses there are mostly the old rectangular type (not the new style rectangular type which is coming in now) of East Manggarai. The round house area is West Manggarai, although there are round houses in East Manggarai too.

I noted that one of the three round houses in Ndung is going to be torn down shortly. Thus the new type house, which came in only about ten years ago, is swiftly replacing the round ones everywhere. I asked if, since originally Ndung 622 was a branch kampong of Weol, the tuan tanah there was not less in prestige than the tuan tanah of Weol. He said that in theory they are the same, but indeed the tuan tanah of Weol was like the older sibling.

● 614 114 It seemed to me that the va'u here are very large (e.g., va'u Weol has over two gelarang), and I told him so. He agreed and in fact said that he has found that there is a still larger genealogical unit (I must ask about this; maybe it is like the isi that Arndt ^ denies, but that Staveren ^ says is found in Ngada above the voi 685 there). On the way back to Weol I saw a buffalo with one of its rear legs hanging nearly off with a deep cut behind the knee. I was shocked and asked how it had happened. He said that the buffalo had broken into someone's garden and that the owner of the garden, who had become angry, had crippled the buffalo. He said that this is done frequently here. I can see how a feud could be started in this way.

^[See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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567 slave descent and the removal of slave or slave-
178 like services.
565 The kraeng of Todo and Pongkor, who were all over this area, were evidently the worst, because they were more numerous and more omnipresent. Bima was rather far off, and asked only peace and taxes, including slaves.

[578] In regard to Todo and Pongkor, I got plenty
565 of undercurrents of resentment here. Cornelius
●614 says the people here regard them as aliens (as
567 indeed they are in this area, especially
considering the localism of "nationalism" here).
[173] And they themselves say that they are from Minangkabau via Makassar. I wonder if there is a tie-up with the Datu ri Bandar who brought Mohammedanism to Makassar from Minangkabau about three hundred years ago? I would like to see the treasure chest of the Pongkor kraeng, as perhaps I could decide whence their ancestors came. I then asked why all the people of the kampong were noted as gelarang. And here I ran into the same thing as in Ende. Indeed, all the members of certain clans are a kind of nobles, like Odja there. This goes for the va'u Veol. It also goes for the va'u Pau, to which the assistant belongs. I tried every way to plumb this matter, and first got this information about the kampongs:

565 (1) There are kampongs in which all the
567 "locals" are of the gelarang class, for example,
621 kampongs Veol and Ndung. But there may be in-
614 cluded among these, descendants of slaves who were admitted into the va'u after long residence, or who now claim membership, and although no one gainsays this, all know that they were from lower depths before. Still, I wonder if possibly some of the many men from the outside va'u, who are especially common in Ndung and who are married to outside women too, may have been here a long time and may have been slaves before.

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565 For example, they may have been bought or cap-
567 tured in war. In regard to the latter possi-
621 bility, a kraeng who came from Pongkor and who
●[614] now lives in Tjantjar and who was standing by
during all this with his father, said that
there were plenty of wars between the kampongs
here formerly, and the kraeng and dalu had to
control this. Bima put in the dalu, he says,
[171] for this end.

(2) There are kampongs which are nearly one hundren per cent descended from commoners (leke) who were made lampang en masse by the kraeng. That is, they are kampongs which were made up of commoners before, and which were depressed to the lampang status. In these, very few of the people are from the outside.

(3) There are kampongs which are nearly one hundred per cent descended from sekontu. These were originally commoners (leke) but were made into slaves en masse by the kraeng. Evidently the lampang and the sekontu, as well as the mangko' pitu, might have been made thus by the sultan, dalu, or kraeng. Indeed, the three seemed to work together, and the dalu are called kraeng too.

(4) There are kampongs which are just about one hundred per cent kraeng, for example Puruk here, and Pongkor and Todo. These are still in the gelarang Rahong here, that is, under the direct control of the dalu. There are eight of them, including Puruk. The assistant says the kraeng prefer to get out of these, as in them they are nobles among nobles, but in other kampongs they can play on their status and the folk have to give them respect. Formerly they gave them more evidently. He says that up to the present time they still receive various forms of respect. Indeed, the kraeng who was here said so too.

The mangko' pitu were directly under Todo and

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567 saw hundreds of Toradjas being brought into
Palopo as slaves by the Buginese.

177 565 If it is so that the dalu were put in by the
621 Bima administration, perhaps originally there
174 might have been only the gelarang, the tuan
●[614] tanah that is, and the commoners. Maybe the
latter were aborigines, and the first conquest brought in the gelarang class. But this seems unlikely, as the gelarang tuan tanah class looks very ancient here. (For example, the Veol clan ancestors came out of bamboo right at the Veol spring.) Anyway, some clans seemed to be higher and others lower, perhaps as in Lio, where some are of the tuan tanah rank and others are not, or like the situation in Ende, where some have mosa laki and others do not. Long ago, and the assistant says perhaps three hundred years, the kraeng came in from Todo and Pongkor. Perhaps they were Minangkabau who came in through Makassar. They say so. But they have no matrilineal system so far as I know, and they have the va'u system like all the people in Manggarai. And the language is the same. However, I asked the assistant if I was right in that the kraeng had a different accent, and he said yes, but this may be a mere local difference.

The assistant says that he knows the legends say that the dalu came from outside somewhere. But their names are Manggarai, and they have the va'u system too. Question: are they Todo-Pongkor kraeng who were elevated, some of them, to the dalu status by Bima. Are they Bimanese in origin? Are they gelarang who were elevated by Bima? It is certain that Bima put them in. I would favor the first explanation, but am bothered by the fact that some kampongs were under dalu and others under Todo and Pongkor kraeng. It looks as though they had a double rule here above the gelarang level, which was

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565 but a Minangkabau. He belongs to a soccer
634 team called ATOM (Anak Tanah Orang Manggarai).
578 Is there any "nationalistic" resurgence under the merdeka stuff here? Who would lead? There are only the gelarang. I can see a good chance for elective democracy here, because (1) the old adat system lives, and its class levels are minimal (as the assistant says, the gelarang are "middle"), (2) the dalu may represent Bima rule (and the assistant insists that they are of alien origin), (3) the radja represents the oppression of the kraeng of Todo and Pongkor. Thus the old shakiness of the Flores radjas is even more remarkable here, and the radja is very new anyway.

[124] But the assistant is not ready to talk. I tried to stir up things by saying that perhaps in twenty years there would be no more radjas in Flores. But I think the lesson of oppression has been too recent. It will take a little time for the revolution, if any, to get going in Flores.

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[576] The kraeng said, when I asked if there was any difference in looks between the classes, that it was a matter of manners (he said it was a matter of with whom one associates) and money. But he said that you can tell by the manners. I get a definite impression that the kraeng are proud, and perhaps a bit snobbish. I then tried to get at the class business via the clans. I got this, which jibes with the kampongs, as the kampongs are largely clan units, although there is some mixture:

(1) There are one hundred per cent gelarang va'u, e.g., Veol.

(2) There are one hundred per cent leke va'u, e.g., Adjang and the other formerly lampang kampongs, Levat, and the other formerly sekontu va'u, and Lerong, and the other formerly mangko' pitu va'u.

585 (3) There are one hundred per cent kraeng
614 va'u, e.g., Puruk.

(4) There are one hundred per cent dalu va'u, e.g., Rahong.

(5) There is a radja va'u, of kraeng rang, i.e., Todo.

174 The history may be something like this:

621 (1) Originally, and until about three hundred
565 years ago: the gelarang tuan tanah district
634 chiefs were in, with kampong ramifications.

648 (2) About three hundred years ago until 1900: the period of Todo-Pongkor kraeng conquest, with also some Makassarese rule from the north (Goa) and Bima rule also.

(3) 1909--1929: Dutch rule without radja.

(4) 1929--1941: Dutch rule with radja.

(5) 1941--1949: Japanese, and later Dutch influence, the latter putting in the East Indonesian negara.

(6) 1949-- : The new Indonesia, with the Dutch gone, but the radja still here, as well as the dalu and the kraeng.

The only real power still alien in this area is that of the Todo-Pongkor kraeng (radja). What will happen?

582 I checked over the marriages in Veol and
614 Ndung, but the assistant will get the va'u of the inmarrying women. However, it looks as though there is no pattern. Looking only at the kampongs whence the inmarriers came, I can find just about no system; the twenty-seven women who married men of Veol came from twenty different kampongs (highest frequency was three). The four men who married women of Veol and came here to live are from three kampongs (highest frequency two).

The twenty-nine women who married men of Ndung came from twenty kampongs (highest frequency four: Tjumbi; another three: Tjara).

The nine men who married women of Ndung and

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582 came here to live came from eight kampongs (the highest frequency two).

614 Among those couples both of whose mates came from outside, there were four in Veol. Of these the men came from three kampongs (highest frequency two), and the women came from four kampongs. All of these kampongs were different except for the two men from Leko. There were fourteen such couples in Ndung. Of these, the men came from nine kampongs (the only frequency above one was six men from Tjumbi. The women came from thirteen kampongs and the highest frequency was two.) These were fairly well scattered overall, but showed more similarities than Veol.

Of all the outsiders in Veol (i.e., inmarriers) and Ndung, the highest frequencies are as follows:

	Veol	Ndung	Total
Tjumbi	1	11	12
Leko	4	3	7
Poka	4	0	4
Taga	3	0	3
Leda	3	0	3
Maras	0	3	3
Ndehes	0	3	3
Meler	0	3	3
Tjoal	0	3	3
Teras	2	0	2
Dalo	2	0	2
Pasa	2	0	2
Pau	2	0	2
Tjara	0	2	2
Totals	23	28	51

These are only the highest frequencies, and there is a great deal of scatter. It looks as though there is no pattern at all. This ruins

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582 the previous talk of the tuan tanah that there
614 are preferred clans. I will clinch this when
I get the va'u membership of the inmarriers.

The next day I started in on some more
question in regard to social organization.

[103] Note that the name of the kampong below is
346 Tjantjar, not as I have spelled it above
/Tjantsia/. I went there halfway through the
morning as I heard drums and gongs. There were
girls (looking very Hawaiian) sitting on the
porch of the house next to the new one of the
tuan tanah now being built. The timbers are
up. It will be a rectangular house, although
the one it replaces was round (I made a photo
of the latter only a month ago, which shows
how fast the old type is vanishing). The
drums and gongs were being beaten because this
is necessary when a new tuan tanah house (rumah
gong-gendang) is being built.

346 There were several drums and several gongs
533 (and I found that each tuan tanah house has
776 several of each). They must be beaten all the
824 time, with short pauses, and the girls take
[562] turns. The men may help too (for garden beating, only men may play the instruments). This
has to go on all the time while the big house
is being built. The reason is that the wood
(always spirit-ridden here) must be constantly
kept pacified and told that it is being used
for a great purpose, a big house. For ordinary
houses this is not necessary. (I wonder if the
idea is also in order to get the wood used to
being in a rumah gong-gendang?) Before the
trees are cut for the wood, they are told that
they are being cut for a high purpose. Each
grove of trees has a local spirit called darat.
These are tree spirits. The generic word for
spirit is ro.

778 I notice each day on my way here that there is
776 a grove of fine trees standing isolated on a
824

342 old type, because it has low wooden walls, where-
178 as the old ones had the walls to the floor. The first change was thus, and within ten years the rectangular house is sweeping the country.

342 Inside this house (and before we entered the
[592] man worried as he said perhaps I would tell the police that there were more than three families living in it; indeed there were eight! and the law says only three), everything was dark, and several fires were burning on the floor and smoke was everywhere. There were a couple of low windows in the low walls, but even these were lacking before. All over men, women and children were sitting or reclining. The planks of the flooring were roughly worked with big cracks in between, but they were worn smooth by years of bare feet. In the rear was the apartment of the tu'a mbaru, set off by a low wall. Other spaces were not set off until night, when mats were hung up between them. There is not much privacy here. Looking up I saw the intricate network of rafters, with ropes binding the whole thing. And above this were the big mat holders for food. Long rows of ear corn, unshucked, were hung on the beams. The main post was the center of everything, but I did not see the food shelf for the naga, as I did not hear about this until later.

342 The conical roof is beautiful. This was an
531 ordinary house, with merely an upright stick
178 above the tip. Formerly, only the tuan tanah house could have horns, but I note that now many houses, rectangular ones (but I haven't seen any round ones that use the horns illegally) use horns illegally. Some horns are accompanied by birds. One set here has a bird in the middle and a bird on the tip of either horn. Another has a human head with horns like arms (looked like the human figure atop the Ngada ngadu).

● 614 I found that the Tjepang va'u is the main one

614 in Tjantjar. These people came from West Manggarai, the Boleng area, perhaps one hundred years ago and settled in Veol. About twenty years ago they moved down to this formerly empty place and founded Tjantjar. Although it is not a Veol va'u kampong, it is a kampong tjabang of Veol, and the tuan tanah here, although he is of the Tjepang va'u, has his drums and gongs from the Veol tuan tanah. There is not a single Veol va'u member in Tjantjar, but it is plenty mixed otherwise. Thus there are several Pau families, perhaps ten in all, including the assistant. The Tjantjar people are about thirty per cent of the population, a plurality.

582 I asked about the percentage of marriages which were tungku (mother's brother's daughter). He will try to ask in Veol about this later, but I asked how many cases there were among his acquaintances. First he said only about ten per cent. Then I asked how many among the families he knows in his own kampong, Pau, had at least one mother's brother's daughter marriage among the sons. He said of the thirty he knows, about twelve. This is a higher percentage. Indeed, however, it is not usually more than about thirty per cent, as it couldn't be, for only one son in a family may marry in this fashion (except by exception), and the average number of sons is perhaps three. Formerly, just about every family had at least one son married in the mother's brother's daughter way, but now this is less true. Formerly the eldest son was forced to do it, because it was proper for the mother's brother's daughter marriage to be carried out by the eldest son. In default of such a marriage, another son could do it, for example, the assistant hasn't done his duty, but his father is afraid that one of the other two won't. Both the assistant's and his wife's fathers married

582 mother's brother's daughters; they were the eldest sons of their respective families. Perhaps this shows that formerly this was just about an invariable rule.

582 178 The reasons why several do not do it today are: (1) the church taboo (but they can get dispensation), (2) absence of a mother's brother's daughter of the proper age, (3) refusal of a son to marry a mother's brother's daughter or of a girl to marry father's sister's son because of a lack of affection, and (4) propaganda via education (I think it is this, but he says "government") that inbreeding is bad (this is possibly a neat trick of the church, which can insert this into the schools and thus beat down the mother's brother's daughter rules indirectly.)

614 773 784 I got onto totemism and origin legends. The Veol folk must clearly be the original people here, because they came out of bamboo right on this spot. The Pau va'u original ancestors came out of a stone which still stands in the kampong Pau. It is more than a meter high, flat on top, and is called vatu Pau.

Cornelius's wife's va'u came from Rintja Island. The va'u is called Manong.

Radjong va'u (kampong Radjong in East Manggarai) also originated out of a stone which is there now and is called vatu Radjong. Another va'u set of ancestors was born of a buffalo and therefore its members cannot eat buffalo.

If the totem is an animal (i.e., ancestors came from animals), the members of that va'u cannot eat the ancestral animal. If a va'u came from a tree, its members today cannot use that wood. If a va'u is from a stone, they simply must keep and cherish the stone.

The Veol taboos are three: (1) bambu belang: because the ancestors came therefrom; (2) the lusa bean: I don't know why yet, but I will

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●614 784 773 ask; and (3) the latung pesi corn: this is true of the firstborn only (I will ask about this too).

Note the firstborn theme here too. This is also found in Sikka totemism. The Pau va'u [764] has only one taboo aside from the custom that the stone must not be used for anything, and it is that the members must be buried naked. The story is that once, when the dead were still dressed, a child was ordered to get clothes for a dead person. The child refused, and an old man who was angry said, "All right, from now on our descendants cannot be buried in clothes." It is a kind of curse.

Manong taboos are mice and dogs. They cannot be eaten. I don't know the story, but I can ask the assistant's wife. Now, however, the assistant's wife can eat these, because she has married out. But she has taken on a taboo (tjek'i) of Pau and will be buried naked. He asks, "What about the Catholics?" I said there was no trouble, I thought, because there is no rule in the Church that a person must be buried with clothes on! Each taboo has a story of rationalization behind it. Usually there are two or three taboos per va'u.

[262] I found out that cats are eaten here.

These kampongs have long since been separate, 621 [361] but once they were one. There was a man named Pong Ndung who came from Veol, but didn't want to live in the kampong, so he moved down to lower land and settled under a tree. The Veol people got angry and asked him to come back, and he said all right, but moved only into the present Ndung area, which was then vacant. He thus founded the new kampong, and since then it has been called Ndung.

Before 1870 to 1880 they had only kampongs and va'u. Then, under Bima, came in the dalu and gelarang divisions. The line between gela-

342 in Tjantjar they use some nails, but also many
178 wooden pegs; perhaps the nails are expensive
and hard to get).

Now comes the last stage, when the rectangular houses are coming in all over. A certain pastor went around showing how to build the rectangular type houses, and now everyone follows his model exactly. They do not know any variations! Until 1948 all houses in the Veol--Ndung area were round. Now there are only three left, and Number 11 is to be torn down this month, and they intend to tear down Number 8 soon. In the old days, and now, a round house lasted only ten years, anyway.

166 Usually, when they build a new house the
178 whole population of the old one moves out and
[342] into the new one en masse. This took place
every ten years. They seldom move from the
kampong. An exception was the mass move of
Tjepang to Tjantjar twenty years ago.

In the past fifty years the only movement he
knows of was the Tjepang one. Before this
there were many moves out of Veol, and Veol
[614] va'u kampongs are found all over the area, as
well as families from Veol. But this was all
before fifty years ago.

The places to which Veol folk have moved are all in Manggarai, and only in the two or three nearby dalu or gelarang, for example Rahong and Tjibal.

Families move because of four causes, accord-
166 ing to the assistant: (1) arguments over whose
578 pigs are using the troughs and when, (2) arguments over pigs getting into gardens, whereupon the pig would be cut (like the buffalo I saw yesterday), (3) arguments between women over the use of pestles, and (4) marriages of men who went to live with their wives, taking the Veol name with them. Thus it seems that the main cause or causes are arguments, and they

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166 the ancestors that they are back, and to offer
574 something to all the relatives who have died
769 since they went away. This applies to an individual who has been away for a long time and at some distance. If a family departed in anger and with hot words, they must give a feast on their return with the sacrifice of an animal "to clean off the dirty talk."

166 They like to see people return, because they always like to see their kampong and va'u increase in population.

When they move they take with them movables, cattle, etc. If they have relatives in the new kampong, they are received easily. It is notable that the assistant says the ones who leave are always the younger branches, and so they have no status to lose. As for land, the situation is not too clear. I suppose they lose it.

166 If they are merely moving to some nearby
578 kampong, for example, within the same dalu,
there is little opposition. If it is within
● 614 Manggarai, it is not so bad. But if there is
769 a desire to move really far off, there is great trouble, and a youth would probably have to sneak away. The assistant helped a brother of his to sneak off to become a soldier (I think). They try every means to keep them home. All relatives try hard in this. If someone leaves anyway, they have a feast and there is much mourning. The bonds are very close and strong.

One of the main reasons for this family resistance to leavers is because they do not want to have the population of the family, panga, or va'u lessened. There is a great fear of depleting the strength of these units. No greater catastrophe can take place than to become extinct. And I found a beautiful ancestor cult reason on the part of the old. The assistant says that the father mournfully asks, "Who

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166 will give me food when I am dead?" This is
578 exactly like the ancestor cult of China, in
● 614 that there must be descendants to make sacri-
769 fices for the soul of the deceased. And there is the same mournful asking by a pagan father whose sons turn to Christianity and therefore probably will not keep up the rites for the dead ancestors: "Who will feed me after I am dead?"

776 This led to a discussion in regard to the
361 guardian spirit of the kampong. Each kampong
778 has such a ro, called naga, and its abode is in the stone heap and the tree thereon in the
[166] pusat of the kampong. This is called the tjompang. If there is a great deal of trouble, e.g., illness, a succession of bad crops, etc.,
[756] the mbako may say that the naga is no longer any good, and if all the people so agree, the whole kampong is moved en masse. When this happens, the old tjompang and tree are left there in the old place and are abandoned. Thus it happens that a naga which for a long time has been benevolent may turn to be malevolent. This may be because the people have not pleased him, or just because he got wicked. He is no longer a good naga, and the people had better get out and get a new place and a new naga (how do they get a new naga? There is a very big feast for a new kampong, so perhaps a new naga is then installed).

Veol moved about two to three generations ago from the place noted on the map (c) on higher ground above the vatu Veol. I thought it was strange that the stone was there, outside of Veol and above Ndung, and also strange that the highest spot was empty. This is where Veol used to be, but the naga became so bad that Veol was moved about one hundred meters below. Also, I noted when I first entered that the tree was small, and when I asked why, they said it was

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565 Pongkor. The whole thing is in the dark. I
624 must check Coolhaas at length. The names of
167 the dalu are all Manggarai, and simple. The
174 Radja merely has a Manggarai name.

The newcomers in the kampongs here are no
166 cause for worry, because the original kampong
621 dwellers keep control, no matter how many new-
● 614 comers there are and how few of them are left.
There is a kampong where there are only three old households left, and there are about forty outside households. The three keep control.

Those who have come into the kampongs here comprise both unmarried and married folk. The
[567] former all marry in. Some of the present folk
who are named as of va'u Veol may well be of slave origin. Slaves were taken into the va'u of their owners. Everyone in the kampong knows which families in the va'u are of slave origin, but they will not tell outsiders. It is certain that the slaves are among the va'u Veol folk, if any.

Usually newcomers have relatives within the kampong, and this is the way so many Tjumbi entered. These relatives form an opening wedge, and others follow. This is like immigration in the United States.

Very few come into the kampong and then leave. The only case is the Tjepang clan. It entered long ago and left about twenty years ago for Tjantjar, en masse. This happens often. A clan enters and increases so much, while the original clan also increases in size, that in the end the original clan says that the immi-
[624] grant clan must move. Then the other clan is
given a gong-gendang, one of them becomes the tuan tanah of the branch kampong, and off they go. This is what happened in the case of Tjantjar.

624 The man who becomes the branch tuan tanah is
[614] the tuan panga of the clan. He gets the gong-

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000 that is all.

166 There are no rites for ordinary folk who
609 just enter the kampong. In the old days, however,
567 when new slaves came in they had to have
● 614 rites in order to tell the ancestors that they
769 were new members of the clan. This pretty well
clinches the slave entering va'u matter. They
just do. This is why the former slaves are
members of the clans. Only those on the inside
know who is who. The longer the time
gets from slavery days the more it is not
brought up.

563 The only Europeans here are the pastors.
443 The traders are Chinese and Arabs and natives.
793 The business of the occasional Chinese pedlar
with his coolie is quite usual here. They
stay usually for only a few hours.

The pastors tell stories to the local people
about Europe, etc. The Chinese who are regular
[203] pedlars have been in Manggarai for a long time,
and they spread some news.

484 In these local kampongs everyone has been to
another kampong. The women go outside their
own kampong less often and do not go so far
[438] away as the men. Men go out to trade horses,
buy tobacco, etc. During the Japanese occupation
they ranged far in order to buy cloth, etc.
However, all of this was within Manggarai. All
have been to Ruteng.

All have been outside Rahong, as they have
been to Ruteng. At least fifty per cent of
the local population have never seen the sea.
One person has gone to Ende, and two have gone
[167] to Kupang as soldiers. One went to Makassar to
work. The Japanese took several to Riung to
work, but most of the people have never left
Manggarai. No one from here has ever left Indonesia.
In all Manggarai, the assistant thinks
only one person has ever left Flores. He is a
pastor, I think.

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764 in a new place and have children there, a
tjompang, etc. (thus the Tjepang do not go back
to their old home in the west).

764 Also, all women who marry out become members
● 614 of their husbands' va'u and are buried there.
823 If it is impossible to take the body back to
the kampong of origin, they at least get a
bit of dirt from the cemetery there and take
it to the far-off grave (a spot of land that
is forever Veol!). This is a real duty, and
they may travel very far to get it. Thus, if
a Veol man dies in a far away kampong where
there is no tuan tanah and no privilege, a bit
of earth from the Veol cemetery (near the road
here) is taken to his grave. A small feast is
given, at which time only a fowl is sacrificed.
This is done in the far-off kampong at the
burial. However, then the family travel to
Veol, no matter how far off it may be, and there
[775] they have the really big funeral feast. This is
because the soul of the deceased always returns
to the home kampong, that is, unless the clan
section is already settled in a new place and
has its own cemetery.

775 The souls of the dead live around the graves.
769 There is no special deadland here. Thus, when-
782 ever there is a feast in the kampong, people
go to the cemetery and invite the souls to at-
tend. The assistant sang a song which they use.
Also, they kill a fowl there, in order to give
a little food in advance (he said "voorschot").
[776] Also, they go to the spring and invite the
water spirits, and give them a fowl too. (Now
I see why they have the cry, "Who will feed me
when I am dead?")

161 The real population of Veol--Ndung is not
769 three hundred and fifty, but thousands, as the
dead live there too. The ancestor cult is thus
tremendous in regard to the stature of the kam-
pong.

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621 614 554 There is certainly no feeling of inferiority concerning the status of the village. Still, the gelarang kampongs feel a bit superior to the former slave ones, for example, sekontu and lampang. They look down a bit on Tjantjar, as it is not of the Veol va'u. But the branch kampongs which are of the va'u Veol are as good as the central kampong. Thus Ndung is just as good as Veol, and so is, for example, Sampar. They are original people too. Thus the blood bond comes first. As for outsiders who live in the kampong, if they get angry they may throw this up. For example, the assistant said it might happen to him.

614 621 602 He also said that no matter how long a person is away, no matter how many generations intervene, he and his descendants are still Pau people and go there as often as possible; that is, unless the case involves people who have been established as real members of an independent clan kampong elsewhere. However, they still remember the real, old ancestral kampong.

As yet there have been no returning villagers to tell anything about the outside world.

In inter-community relations the important thing is the blood bond. The va'u comes first, and then the kampongs or clans or families with many marriage bonds. Thus it is mainly genealogical. The gelarang is important, as generally all the kampongs in a gelarang are of one va'u. The only exception here is the unusual Tjepang kampong. Tjantjar and other kampongs here have many marriage relations with it. Ndung is close in all ways.

[622] Thus the gelarang is just about the same as a "clan district," and the tuan tanah in the central kampong is the head, and the other tuan tanah are branch-offs from him.

Beyond the va'u there are nearly no real relationships, except for the areas where va'u

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621 are established or where the people have marriage
614 relations. The dalu area is quite
602 secondary, as it is not genealogical. There
are, e.g., three Veol kampongs in the dalu
Tjibal, and these are closer than the other
non-Veol kampongs nearer in distance or others
in the same dalu but of a different va'u. Even
though a family has lived for a long time in
another kampong and has few close acquaintances
any more in the old kampong, the bond is still
closer than with the neighbors in the kampong
of residence. This shows that residence is
[571] less important here than blood. Still, as propinquity
makes for marriages, there is a tendency
for a family to establish new marriage
relations in the place of residence. Thus it
is either the consanguineal or the affinal
group that counts, in order.

There are no relations at all with other
tribes or places.

[648] The Dutch stopped the wars. They say that
721 if there were no police now they would have wars
614 again soon.

578 When a war comes all the va'u kampongs help.
They could also call on the vina-rona families,
i.e., the affinal relatives. These might refuse,
however.

Once there was a war between two places (and
usually wars were thus along va'u lines, except
for the dalu wars), and everlasting enmity remained
between these two places. Thus the wars
were va'u against va'u and dalu against dalu,
not kampong against kampong, although they
might start that way. And in this area, most
of the wars were dalu wars. Some wars were dalu
or even a va'u against Bima, and there might be
quite an alliance against Bima. Once in awhile
Bima lost. On the border there were many wars
against Ngada.

Some dalu here fought against Todo and Pong-

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721 kor, e.g., Ruteng and Tjibal. But Rahong never
● 614 resisted Todo and Pongkor. The Dutch fought
578 here (near the pemali grove along the road).
The panglima prang who led this fight is still
living.

Va'u Veol had no traditional enemy, but might join in and help on one side or the other in a war.

There were many wars between the dalu that these kampongs entered. In other regions there were plenty of wars between va'u ("non-dalu wars") but there was not much of this here. These were caused because of borders, molesting fellows, etc. Dalu wars were over borders mainly, but might be for other reasons. The only big wars here were between the dalu. And each kampong had to send just about all of its adult men to fight in these dalu wars.

411 The weapons used consisted of spears, long
knives, and shields. They did not use the bow
until a few came in very recently. They had
no blowguns, but recently a few have come in
for hunting birds, although they use no poison
darts. Shields were round or rectangular, always of rattan. Helmets were also made of
[714] rattan. Their war clothes were fancy. Feathers
were placed on the helmets.

There was no head-hunting, but, for revenge,
266 they drank a little blood. However, there was
721 no war cannibalism. (Note the many things which
are lacking in Manggarai which are usually found
elsewhere in Indonesia.)

Still, even now from time to time there comes
721 a rumor that men are coming who will chop off
their heads. These people are rumored to be
coming from outside. It looks like the leftovers of a memory of an old head-hunting experience, perhaps felt from the outside.

[608] There are no traditional alliances between
721 clans or kampongs of the pela sort. But there
578
614

War

721 were traditional enmities to some extent be-
578 tween dalu. For example, Ruteng was against
614 Tjibal. Rahong usually helped Ruteng. Tjibal
had allies too.

When there was a Todo war against Pongkor, the dalu here often entered, sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other.

There are plenty of stories about the old wars. Thus there is the Prang Kuvu (that was against the Dutch near here); Prang Lait (against Bima, at a place near here); Prang Vake (Pongkor against Todo, and the dalus here entered), etc.

621 There are definite borders here, and the
614 people are quite sensitive about them. These
602 exist between the dalu, gelarang, and kampongs.
[423] They are marked by stones, mountains, rivers,
etc.

In every gelarang there is a central kampong, for example, Veol and branches. Only one va'u per gelarang is the original va'u. There can't be two. Each dalu has kampongs under direct dalu rule. Some dalu (e.g., Rahong) had kampongs directly under Todo or Pongkor. Aside from the va'u relations, the vina-rona (mother's brother's daughter or affinal) relationship is important. In this mutual help is expected. Thus the pattern of one's own clan and the clan of affinity (and, I suppose, by extension this, could work out to a circle of the Wouden type)[1] is found here.

614 However, I get nowhere with the regular
582 marriage class system here. Nevertheless, the
old tuan tanah said that there was a preferred clan, Mungges. It does not show in the record of the marriages, however. He will get the clans of the women for me.

756 Note: he misunderstood the "magic" here,
789 and says that the mbako could and can make a
drink or amulet, etc., to make a man strong, and such is used in war.

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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871 185 old people have been heard to say that they wished they were young again so that they could go to school. "We didn't have these advantages in my day."

871 212 [578] There is no trouble between the educated and the uneducated. Until recently there was no conflict between the illiterate older people and the schooled young. Of course, they have only three grades anyway, but in all events they haven't had the problem of the stuck up children at all. There is no disobedience. There are still a few dalu and kepala kampongs who are illiterate, but this is becoming less and less so all the time. And they have assistants who help them.

The young do not teach the old here. The literacy campaign of the East Indonesian government failed here as everywhere. It started and then stopped. (Why learn to read when there is nothing to read? Why learn to write when no one writes? This is my interpretation.)

[797] [658] The schools are run by the mission, but the government pays all of the expenses except for what the mission wants to give, for example, books. This is a system found all over Flores, I think. Mission schools are paid for by the government. The whole administration is carried out by the mission.

874 797 There is not a single person from here who has gone to seminary. After the six grades the gurus go to OVO (Opleidingsschool voor Volksonderwijzers), a two year course at the mission in Ruteng. There is also a trade school at the Ruteng mission. The trade school gurus must go to a two year course in Ende Ambachtsschool, in the mission there, after they have finished six grades. There is no other available special education.

614 The assistant worked until midnight getting information for the outline in Veol and Ndung,

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614 and these are the keys to the stuff: wodja bakok are the same as lampang. The meaning is "white rice." Lampang means "stocks" wherein new slaves are put to keep them from running away. The totems newly inserted are:

[784]

lavo	mouse
kaba	buffalo
paku	a leafy vegetable
betu	a kind of mouse
pake	frog
peti	a kind of bird

614 764 784 756 178 Naked burial is called gilo. Note that this used to be a totem of the Pau va'u, and it was given up via a big feast in 1932. At the same time, the buffalo taboo of Pau (Pau therefore does have a food taboo, or rather it did), was given up too via the same feast. In regard to the naked burial, the people decided it was too much trouble, and I suppose they felt they might as well get rid of the buffalo taboo at the same time. To do this kind of thing a va'u must consult a mbako to see if it is all right. If so, they have the feast called kaba oke tjek'i ("buffalo removes the taboo").

nggevo	red bean (different from the lusa)

531 622 I asked if it was right that the radja has no horns on his house as he is not a tuan tanah. They said yes. He has no relation with the land. But nowadays there is plenty of illegal use of the horns by non-tuan tanah.

782 It is true that an offering is always made at the vatu Veol before starting garden work. This is as Coolhaas[1] says.

829 No one is able to draw a map of Flores and Indonesia and the world.

212 Fifty years ago (and even forty years ago) no

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

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622 624 Rahong is just about the same as fifty years ago, except for the kraeng kampongs which have gone out since about fifteen years ago. Also, there have been kepala kampongs since then. The organization runs as follows: Kampong: tuan tanah; kepala kampong; tuan panga; tuan mbaru. These form the kampong council. Some kampongs have the same man as tuan tanah and kepala kampong.

632 614 Gelarang: the gelarang (and they use the title dangka for him, also) (one can't use "temu" and "gelarang" at the same time; thus it is not "tu'a temu gelarang"), and the kampongs below him are included. There is no council, and there are no scribes, secretaries, oppas, or anything else. The va'u is usually almost equivalent to the gelarang. But this is not always true. Thus va'u Veol covers both Ndung and Veol. And some branches of va'u Veol are in other areas, while, for example, a branch of Tjepang is in the Veol gelarang.

Dalu: dalu, dalu wakil, secretary, oppas, mandur, and the gelarang below. There is no council.

634 State: radja (the radja bitjara post is now empty since the former one died), secretary, oppas, mandur, and the office force. Again there is no council and no ministry. However, there is a Hakim Adat of Manggarai. The chairman used to be the radja bitjara, but now he is the radja's younger brother. The members, chosen by the radja, are four in number. At present they are Kraeng Dalu Ruteng, Gelarang Pau (the assistant's father), Gelarang Tenda, and a man of the Ruteng kraeng family.

692 Adat cases may be settled on the kampong, gelarang, or dalu level; or they may go up to the Hakim Adat.

648 681 634 The Dutch removed the death punishment, double repayment in cases of theft, lampang and

War

634 646 They said no, but that there was much free talk against the radjas in the parliament now!

622 646 624 888 All hereditary posts are genealogically linked. Most of the kepala kampong are still old illiterates. Parliament members are mainly middle aged people (the oldest literates, therefore). Age is of no concern for the hereditary posts, as one person merely succeeds to the post after another. In the kampong, however, the old men have the most influence, and the young people keep their mouths shut for the most part.

[562] Women may not hold hereditary posts. Until now women took no part in elections, but they may change things here.

829 666 There is still only a very restricted political horizon here, and there is little knowledge about such things. But at least they have elections. This is very important. They start with an election. As they say in Celebes, ● [614] [632] they catch on fast. Veol is the center of the gelarang, and Rahong is the center of the dalu, and Ruteng is the center of Manggarai. They think nothing about the "place" of Manggarai in Flores; the radja is just a "big man." Beyond this they know practically nothing about the daerah, negara, etc.

648 Most of the people here thought the Dutch were all right and they were too uninformed to criticize them. Also, it must be remembered that they had been under the rule of Bima, and the Dutch at least drove Bima out. They did not even criticize the Japanese! They were simply not concerned. The great memory here is of Bima and slavery. They hate Bima.

609 Except for the pastors, everyone here knows of things and people who are Dutch only by name. Formerly they knew the local civil servants only slightly. They were always afraid of any new men who came here. This is true of my

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533 797 [562] school[1] is overcrowded, and it is the only place where girls can rise above the lowest level in Manggarai. There were plenty of sisters around. The whole thing shows the good organization of the Catholics here.

[124] I used the last two days of work here to get through the rest of the schedule.

585 For weddings, the Christians go to church for a service as well as going through the old rites. 583 Formerly the bride price was not payable in money, but today it is, in part. The bride price (padja) includes buffaloes, horses, and formerly copper or brass (?) boxes. There are no more of these last objects, and money has been substituted for them. Also, cattle are now used, but were not included formerly.

The return gift (vida) includes cloth, bracelets, ear ornaments, etc. Also included are small elephant teeth (used as pendants on bracelets). They are about two inches long. The bride price goes to the girl's family, and the return gift to the boy's family. Formerly the bride price was not very high. Today it is higher. An average bride price includes about five animals.

Both Catholics and pagans still pay the bride [591] [611] price and make the return gift. If a bride price is not paid, the couple must live matrilocally until it is paid. However, the children are always patrilineally descended.

582 ● 614 The distances of mate selection are about the same as they were fifty years ago. There is a bit more marriage within the va'u, which was taboo before. However, the panga remain exogamous.

476 602 614 If the relatives-in-law live too far off, there is no real, actual mutual aid. If they are near, mutual aid is carried out between three groups: one's own va'u ana rona, and ana vina. The help comes especially in aiding a help-mate

[1] [ie., at Veol.—Analyst]

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476 to obtain the bride price, but also in such
602 cases as the building of a new big house. The
614 va'u helps with the costs of a wedding feast.
[585] The rona get animals for their women, and the vina give animals for theirs. The return gifts go in the opposite direction: the rona give the gifts and the vina receive them.

I get the impression that there is more to it than just this simple roundabout exchange. Thus, a family has several relations of rona and vina, and the same ones will not always be involved in a given marriage. The ones not directly involved evidently help out, or can be called upon to help in a marriage in which they are not directly involved. But this is not too clear to me. Cornelius[1] says that the whole thing is quite a burden, as when they are called upon they must give this aid. The nearer the groups live, the more they are called upon. If they are far off, this is not too much of a burden.

582 There are no marriages here with foreigners,
563 but in other places a few Manggarai women have married Chinese men. These are definitely not liked. They are "lost." They are outside the adat and the magic circle.

582 At the time of marriage, local males are six-
291 teen (some are fifteen to twenty-one years old.
178 The majority fall within the age groupings sixteen to seventeen. Females, at the time of their marriage, are fourteen to twenty years old. Formerly they married later. The youngest was about nineteen (I think this was for males). He says that this was because they "got clothes" when they were older. The boys did not even wear loincloths until about the age of sixteen. The girls wore only a little cloth from about the age of twelve on. This was because it was so hard to get clothes. They married only two to three years after getting clothes. The rich

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

Wae

582 people married earlier, because they got their
291 clothes earlier. Cornelius[1] says that until
178 about twenty-five years ago you could see quite
old and young people going about naked. He
remembers this. They do not like too young
marriages (!). Also, they do not like them if
the partners are too old.

[561] There are no age grades.

●614 The Veol clan is very large, but there are
clans which are even larger. Not a single clan
has ever become extinct. However, some panga
have. There is one such panga in Veol.

562 Formerly, the position of women was really
178 low, like that of slaves. Now they are a little
584 higher. Today there is a beginning in the direction
of freer choice in marriage. Formerly
all marriages were arranged by the elders.

611 The system here is all patrilineal, and there
have been no changes.

162 In 1930, Cornelius[1] says, there were five
thousand extra women in all Manggarai. I will
check the records for the ratio.

587 The levirate obtains if there is a widow. If
168 there is no brother, her family must take her
back, and pay one horse. The children stay with
the dead father's family. If the levirate goes
through, the man pays one horse.

[583] If a widow remarries to a man other than the
brother of her deceased husband, the price must
be paid to the family of the dead husband, and
the "bonds" are "broken." The sororate is not
required. The bride price is required in the
case of a sororate. It is quite usual, because
the sister of the deceased is accustomed to the
widower and his children. The children of course
stay with the father's family always.

586 There is not much divorce, but it did occur
and still does.

[587] The main cause of divorce is discord, not
barrenness, as in this case a man simply gets
another wife.

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

We

565 dressed, e.g. the kapitan of Roworeke, he is not
291 dominated by an "assistant." However, he domi-
177 nates (cautiously as yet) the adat dressed mosa
554 laki. This is interesting.

565 The Pongkor kraeng said that manners differ
576 by class, and he may be right. However, I met
a rough kraeng in Anam. And I think that he
was from Todo too. Todo ones have a reputa-
tion of being more refined than those from
Pongkor. All this probably does not mean very
much.

[195] Special words are used as part of the lan-
guage of ceremonies and rites. However, this
576 is merely a matter of occasion. In the old
178 days real respect was shown for the Bima dig-
nitaries, the kraengs, etc. When one approached
a kampong where there was a kraeng, one had to
dismount from one's horse and remove one's
shoulder cloth down to the hips, where it was
wound around, leaving the torso bare.

[689] If one did not show the proper respect for-
merly, a whole kampong might be made lampang.
Thus, enslavement was the great mass punish-
ment. Even today there is still a bit of
feeling in regard to the rank of the kraeng,
although it is nothing like what it was before.

554 There are grades of pride on the kampong
621 level, and thus Veol feels a bit higher than
614 its branch kampong Tjantjar. Also, Veol va'u
feels a bit better than the incoming va'u
Tjepang. But this is not a real formulization.

565 There are no approved marriages with mendi.
582 This is still very bad. It is possible to
marry with other kinds of "slaves" (e.g., lam-
pang). There are a number of such cases now
in Veol. Everyone, up to the radja, may marry
everyone else except the mendi. There are
plenty of such mixed marriages, and even the
radja has a commoner for a wife. Here again
one can see the ordinary quality of the radjas

W.

865 young, in regard to the propriety of their behavior.

346 As usual, the church at Tjantjar has no
778 windows. There is no rumah pemali here. The
tuan tanah house is the cult center. At each feast all gather here, unless it is a smaller, house or panga feast. The gongs and drums are located here, and also the main post (and in each house is a lesser main post) and the pusaka. The last, however, does not consist of very much--clothes, knives, etc., from the ancestors, and heirlooms of the group.

778 The cult places are: (1) the tjompang with
614 the tree, and (2) the stones. Here it is the
769 Vatu Veol, in the form of a human male with
773 arms akimbo, but "someone" broke off the arms.
532 It is near the high hill where the original
kampong was located. It was placed there by an ancestor named Padja (thus like the named stones of Ngada). Padja is invited to the feasts at the stone. If there is a war, ceremonies are held there. Any kampong of the va'u Veol may come there and use it. Thus it is a va'u stone. Most kampongs have such a holy stone. Vatu Runtu is the one in Ruteng kampong, whence came the original ancestors of va'u Runtu. Vatu Pau in kampong Pau is where the original ancestors of va'u Pau came out. This was about fifteen generations ago, he says, and he is a member (this is thus quite recent, and curious, but maybe these family trees get foreshortened; or perhaps the period represents a new immigration of "stone people"? It seems to be about three hundred years ago or perhaps a bit less). Vatu La'o is in the gelarang La'o of dalu Rahong. He doesn't know the story about it.

778 It is notable that outside of Rahong, as far
769 as he knows, there are no stone images. Indeed,
776 the only one I know of is the Vatu Veol. And
532

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844 graves or go to funerals. The umbilical cord is not cut until the placenta is out. In doing this a knife of bamboo is used. In fact, they use five bamboo cutters. They cut with the first four a little, and then throw them aside. The fifth bamboo knife cuts through.

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[851] When the child is born, a man (maybe the father) comes to the house and bangs five times on the wall from the outside with a spear, and asks, "Boy or girl?" (The assistant said he banged the spear himself.) The word used for boy means "kampong child"; for girl "outside child," reflecting that the former will swell the population of the kampong, but the latter will leave the kampong on marriage. The placenta is put in a box with ashes, along with the umbilical cord (mba'u means placenta with cord). The box is hung in front of the house until it falls apart and disappears. He says usually a dog or some other beast finally eats it up! However, this holds for some va'u only. Other va'u throw the afterbirth in the river, and others bury it. Thus the custom in Pau is hanging; Pongkor buries, Veol throws in the river, Tjepang throws in the river.

805 The calendar starts with planting. They count the months thereafter. The year has ten moons. The two moons extra (May, June, July period) are not counted. They are "empty." (This may explain the confusion Papajungan had in explaining the Toradja calendar, because there too they had extra, unnamed months.)

The ten months, he said, are named. This is unclear, because later it seemed that he reneged on this at Anam when I pointed out that Anam was just having a New Year feast at the end of January, while other kampongs had had theirs long since. Maybe they just count from the planting time, and the "New Year" feast does not take place at the start of the counting, but is just

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805 held some time after the planting is done. I think this is it. He says that in other parts of Manggarai they may have twelve moons. The European calendar is seldom used and only by those who have gone to school.

793 The only priests here are the tuan tanah.
622 The tuan tanah of the pusat kampong is the most
614 important. Cornelius[1] agreed that he was like a bishop. The other tuan tanah of the branch kampongs are like parish priests. The tuan panga have certain roles in panga rites. Below the kampong and the panga there are only small rites.

756 Cornelius[1] says that the mbako went secret even before the Dutch came in. He says he doesn't really know why the people keep the mbako identities so secret. Or perhaps he simply will not tell me. He keeps on saying it is because "they do not want to show any pride." Maybe this means that they do not want to appear to "brag" about their special power, or perhaps it is the idea that if they talk about it they may lose it. They are certainly sensitive on this matter. Van Bekkum[2] says that in all the years he has been in Manggarai he has never found out who a single mbako is. This is amazing. There are no dukun apart from the mbako. In a kampong Cornelius says there are usually from one to three mbako.

[754] There are no suwanggi here.

Cornelius[1] says that even though all the people turn Catholic, they must still have a mbako, in the sense of a dukun.

A new point is that in addition to the troubles of the mbako with the police (maybe because of poison? or is it mere suspicion of magic murder?) they have also gotten into trouble with the hospital because of their "practice" of medicine.

771 In terms of religion, the people here are

[1] [i.e., the assistant--Analyst]

[2] [pastor at Ruteng--Analyst]

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Catholic	565
Pagan	123
Total	688

Pagan:	
Male	53
Female	70
Over 60	40
50-59	33
40-49	28
30-39	13
20-29	4
10-19	1
Under 10	4

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871

Schooled:	269, all Catholics
Over 60	0
50-59	1
40-49	10
30-39	30
20-29	89
10-19	169
Under 10	30

Above three grades:

4th	8	(male 5, female 3)
5th	6	(male 4, female 2)
6th	2	(male 2, female 0)
7th	0	
8th	1	(guru)
Total	17	(male 12, female 5)

All 10 to 16 years of age, except the guru, who is 30 years old.

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Clans:

Ia. Ama Datong Ama Radja		18
Ib. Ama Datong Ama Belolong		51
Ic. Ama Datong Ama Rere		72
Ic1. Ama Datong Ama Rere	62	
Ic2. Ama Datong Ama Rere Ama Tobi	10	
Total I. Ama Datong		141
IIa. Leworita Subamaking		93
IIb. Leworita Harutmaking		48
IIc. Leworita Tapopukang		31
Total II. Leworita		172

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162	IIIa.	Ama Hurint Hadumboleng		69
614	IIIa1.	Ama Hurint Hadumboleng	56	
	IIIa2.	Ama Hurint Hadumboleng Nipatale	13	
	IIIb.	Ama Hurint Marimaking		58
	IIIc.	Ama Hurint Melamaking		80
		Total III. Ama Hurint		207
	IVa.	Lewato Ama Waru'ing		25
	IVa1.	Lewato Ama Waru'ing	21	
	IVa2.	Lewato Ama Waru'ing Nipatale	4	
	IVb.	Lewato Waktukang		21
	IVc.	Lewato Tuhowutung		31
		Total IV. Lewato		77
	Va.	Lewodoreng Ama Waru'ing		7
	Vb.	Lewodoreng Engamaking		43
		Total V. Lewodoreng		50

Thus the clan members of Wailolong total 647. There are 14 others from Leloba, and 27 from other places. The final total is 688.

[565] The "slaves" (Nipatale groups) total 17.

The "captives" (Ama Rere) total 62.

The "returned emigres" (Ama Rere Ama Tobi) total 10.

614 The marriages are as follows:

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Ia: IIIb; IIIc; Leloba Keleng Belolong (2); All OK.

Ib: IIIa1, IIIb (3); Leloba Keleng Belolong; Ib; IIa. The last two are taboo. Letter to him.

Ic1: IIIb (5) IIIc (2); Leloba Keleng Belolong; IIIa1. The last is taboo. Letter to him.

Ic2: IIIa1. This is taboo. Letter to him.

IIa: Ia; Ib (3); Ic2; IVa1; outside (3); IIIa1;

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IIIa2. The last two are taboo. Letter to him.

IIb: Icl; IIIal (4); IIIa2; IIIb (2). All OK.
IIc: IIIal; IIIb; IIIc. All OK.
IIIal: Icl; Ic2; Va; Vb (2); Leloba Kottang Waktukang; Ib; IVal. The last two are taboo. Letter to him.
IIIa2: Ia; IIIa2; IVc. All these are taboo. Letter to him.
IIIb: IIa (4); Vb (3); Leloba Kottang Waktukang; outside; IVa. The last is taboo. Letter to him.
IIIc: IIa (4); IIb; IIIa (see note); IVc (3); Vb; outside (3); IIIc (2). The last two cases are taboo. Letter to him. (note: This is the "precedent" incest case. See notes on this.)
IVal: IIIc. OK.
IVa2: IIIb. OK.
IVb: Icl; IIa; Leloba Kottang. All OK.
IVc: Ia; Icl; IIb (2); IIc. All OK.
Va: IIb. OK.
Vb: Ia; IIa (2) IIb (2); IIc.

(Note: The assistant told me that the Nipatale group in IV was IVc2, but in the records his cases are noted as IVa2. Letter to him.)

Outside: outside. OK. 1 case, the guru.

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The assistant's map gives "wards" of the five clans, although he marks one place as "mainly Hurint, but mixed," and another is the Riang near Leloba, mainly if not all Leworita or Lewodoreng. According to his "wards," these are out of place:

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	House	Suku	"Ward"
621	8	Datong (wife Hurint	Hurint
●614	15	Lewodoreng	Hurint
582	17	Outside (guru)	Lewodoreng
592	18	Leworita (wife Hurint)	Hurint
	21	Datong (wife Hurint	Hurint
	25	Hurint	Datong
	31	Hurint	Datong
	33	Leworita (wife Hurint)	Hurint
	37	Leworita (wife Hurint)	Hurint
	41	Leworita	Lewodoreng
	42	Datong	Lewodoreng
	45	Leworita (wife Datong)	Datong
	47	Leworita	Lewodoreng
	55	Lewodoreng (wife Leworita)	Leworita
	62	Hurint	Leworita
	65	Lewato	Leworita
	66	Hurint (wife Leworita)	Leworita
	67	Leworita (wife Lewato)	Lewato
	68	Lewodoreng	Lewato
	73	Hurint (wife Lewato)	Lewato
	74	Hurint (wife Lewato)	Lewato
	75	Hurint (wife Lewato)	Lewato
	78	Datong	Lewato
	79	Leworita	Lewato
	80	Hurint	Leworita
	81	Hurint (wife Leworita)	Leworita
	82	Hurint	Leworita
	83	Datong (wife Leworita)	Leworita
	87	Leworita	Lewato
	89	Hurint	Leworita

Thus, out of 100 houses, 30 are "out of place." Of these, however, the wife belongs to the "ward of residence" in fourteen cases. This leaves only sixteen cases which are really "out of place."

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I tried to fill in the offices and ran into some trouble. By using the records and the map on which he indicated the houses of the officials,

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[124]

I got the following information. However, in many cases the records did not jibe with the map, and others are questionable, so I sent him a letter about this.

Office	No.
Ama Datong kelake	24
Ama Datong ne'a luka	26
Ama Datong tuno wudjo	
Ama Datong Ama Radja kelake (rank 2)	24
Ama Datong Ama Radja ne'a luka	26
Ama Datong Ama Radja tuno wudjo	
Ama Datong Ama Belolong kelake (rank 1)	35 (277 aide)
Ama Datong Ama Belolong ne'a luka	36
Ama Datong Ama Belolong tuno wudjo	
Ama Datong Ama Rere Kelake (no rank)	14
Ama Datong Ama Rere ne'a luka	(none)
Ama Datong Ama Rere tuno wudjo	
Kepala kottang	140 (Belolong)
Leworita kelake	345
Leworita ne'a luka	361
Leworita tuno wudjo	355
Leworita Subamaking kelake (rank 1)	345 (616 aide)
Leworita Subamaking ne'a luka	361
Leworita Subamaking tuno wudjo	355
Leworita Harutmaking kelake (rank 2)	304
Leworita Harutmaking ne'a luka	
Leworita Harutmaking tuno wudjo	245
Leworita Tapupukang kelake (rank 3)	375
Leworita Tapupukang ne'a luka	
Leworita Tapupukang tuno wudjo	
Kepala Keleng	366 (Harutmaking)
Ama Hurint kelake	186
Ama Hurint ne'a luka	
Ama Hurint tuno wudjo	

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● 614 Ama Hurint Hadumboleng kelake (rank 2)	186
624 Ama Hurint Hadumboleng ne'a luka	205, 399
Ama Hurint Hadumboleng tuno wudjo	
Ama Hurint Marimaking kelake (rank 1)	134
Ama Hurint Marimaking ne'a luka	
Ama Hurint Marimaking tuno wudjo	
Ama Hurint Melamaking kelake (rank 3)	
Ama Hurint Melamaking ne'a luka	
Ama Hurint Melamaking tuno wudjo	666
Kepala Hurint	468 (Melamaking)
Lewato kelake	547
Lewato ne'a luka	548
Lewato tuno wudjo	552
Lewato Ama Waru'ing kelake (rank 1)	547
Lewato Ama Waru'ing ne'a luka	548
Lewato Ama Waru'ing tuno wudjo	552
Lewato Waktukang kelake (rank 2)	498 (?)
Lewato Waktukang ne'a luka	
Lewato Waktukang tuno wudjo	263
Lewato Tuhowutung kelake (rank 3)	
Lewato Tuhowutung ne'a luka	
Lewato Tuhowutung tuno wudjo	
Lewodoreng kelake	235 (?)
Lewodoreng ne'a luka	236
Lewodoreng tuno wudjo	
Lewodoreng Ama Waru'ing kelake (rank 1)	235 (?)
Lewodoreng Ama Waru'ing ne'a luka	236
Lewodoreng Ama Waru'ing tuno wudjo	
Lewodoreng Engamaking kelake (rank 2)	235 (?)
Lewodoreng Engamaking ne'a luka	236
Lewodoreng Engamaking tuno wudjo	
Kepala kampong: (main one)	468 (Hurint) 140 (Kottang) 366 (Keleng)

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624	Djurutulis (scribe)	475
● 614	Mandur	382
	Guru sekolah (school teacher)	94
	Mandur sekolah	313
	Molang	616
	Marang besar (prayer leader)	616
	Marang besar	626
	Radja tua (Lewodoreng) of Riang Epu Kohule	672

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Examining the ranks by age, education, and religion, we find the following (and not all information is in yet; see letter to him):

(1) Of the 5 kelake suku, 1 is in his 30's, 3 are in their 50's, and 1 is in his 60's;
1 has finished 3 grades of school, 4 are illiterate;
1 is Catholic and 4 are pagan.

(2) Of the 13 kelake ama, 1 is in his 30's, and 4 are in their 40's, 5 are in their 50's, and 3 are in their 60's;
2 have finished 3 grades of schooling, 11 are illiterate;
2 are Catholic and 11 are pagan.

(3) Of the 3 kepala kampongs, 1 is in his 30's, 1 is in his 40's, and 1 is in his 50's;
2 have finished 3 grades of schooling, and 1 is illiterate;
all 3 are Catholic.

(4) The djurutulis is 36;
he has finished 3 grades of schooling;
and he is Catholic.

(5) The mandur is 40, illiterate, and Catholic.

(6) The guru sekolah is 30; he finished 8 grades

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	Clans												
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	Total
Odja	84	1	24	1	-	6	15	2	13	24	-	9	179
Gusa (Tibo)	4	31	15	19	-	12	5	-	3	-	2	9	100
Wanda	4	1	7	-	16	-	9	19	-	11	2	1	70
Ndoru	19	2	-	-	1	-	-	3	-	21	-	3	49
Djawa	1	18	-	-	-	1	-	3	-	-	-	7	30
Reandona	8	-	-	-	4	1	1	-	-	3	-	-	17
Woro	7	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	10
Rewarangga	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	4	-	-	-	9
Mboti	2	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	5	9
Foa	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	-	9
Wadja	-	-	1	-	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
Wai	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	1	4	-	-	8
Soa	4	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	7
Ndosi	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Bangova	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	6
Gusi	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	5
Kora	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	5
Meo	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Mbonggi	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	3
Baoru	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	3

● 614
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R.

Clans

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	Total
Pare	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	3
Lenalaba	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
Watu	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
Penawuri	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2
Songo	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Fongi	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Sue	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Dake	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Unknown	5	-	-	-	4	7	2	1	-	1	-	-	20
Lio Unknown	1	-	-	-	2	-	4	1	1	-	3	-	12
Nggobe Unknown	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3	5	-	27	-	36
Rewarangga Unknown	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	3	-	-	5
Ende Unknown	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	2	7
Ceram	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	6
Savu	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	9

Big 5 are:			
	Odja	179	I, III, X, VII, IX
	Gusa	100	II, IV, III, VI
	Wanda	70	VIII, V, X
	Ndoru	49	X, I
	Djawa	30	II

• (10 or over)

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I looked at the list of adult married males with wives living, and found some evidence of concentration of clans. In most cases, though I didn't work this out, if the widowed males were included, I would get a slightly more concentrated picture of the clan. As I reckon it, there are 111 cases.

I. Odja 15 plus 5, married with Odja wives: total number of cases 24 (63%, 83%).

II. Gusa 4 plus 3, married with Gusa wives: total number of cases 8 (50%, 88%).

III. Gusa 5 (63%)
Odja 3 (38%)
total number of cases 8.

IV. Gusa 5
total number of cases 5 (100%).

V. Wanda 4
total number of cases 6 (67%).

VI. Gusa 2 plus 2, married with Gusa wives: total number of cases 7 (no good)

VII. Odja 4
total number of cases 8 (50%).

VIII. (Complete spread, 5 cases)

IX. Odja 3
total number of cases 5 (50%).

X. Odja 5 (37%)
Ndoru 5 (37%)
total number of cases 13.

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162 XI. Nggobe Unknown 8
● 614 total number of cases 16 (50%).
582 (Maybe this is Nggobe clan?)

XII. (Complete spread, 6 cases)

Note that this comes out differently from the test made by merely totaling the members of clans.

Marriage Pairs

Odja:	Wanda	7	
	Ndoru	4	
	Meo	4	
	Gusa	3	
	Reandona	2	
	Woro	2	
	Djawa	1	
	Rewarangga	1	
	Soa	1	
	Gusi	1	
	Odja	1	(kapitan; he is really a Gusa)
		27	
	Unknown	8	
	Total	35	
Gusa:	Gusa	4	(they say they are at least 7 generations distant; 3 are in Kopo Edo; could it be that Gusa and Tibo were once separate?; both names are used)
	Odja	3	
	Wanda	3	
	Soa	2	
	Gusi	2	

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162	Woro	1	
● 614	Fongi	1	
582	Mboti	1	
		17	
	Unknown	2	
	Total	19	
Wanda:	Reandona	2	
	Rewarangga	1	
	Ndoru	1	
		4	
	Unknown	4	
	Total	8	
Ndoru:	Odja	4	
	Wanda	4	
	Gusa	1	
	Woro	1	
		10	
	Unknown	1	
	Total	11	
Djawa:	Gusa	2	
	Odja	1	
	Wanda	1	
	Sue	1	
	Djawa	1	(case unexplained)
	Total	6	
Wadja:	Odja	3	
Ndosi:	Odja	1	
	Wanda	1	
Reandona:	Ndoru	2	
Woro:	Odja	1	
	Gusa	1	

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162 Penawuri:	Baoru	2
● 614		
582 Bangova:	Wanda	1
	Unknown	1
Foa:	Wanda	1
	Unknown	1
Soa:	Ndoru	1
Wai:	Reandona	1
Mboti:	Wadja	1
Mbonggi:	Unknown	1
Kora:	Gusa	1
Outside:	Outside	2
	Odja	1
Unknown:	Unknown	13
	Rewarangga	2
	Gusa	1
	Baoru	1
	Total	17

Remarks on marriage: Of the six evidently endogamous marriages, one is not really endogamous, because the kapitan was born into Gusa but adopted into Odja. Of the four Gusa endogamous pairs, three, in Kopo Edo, he maintains are distant. The other two are unexplainable: 1 Gusa and 1 Djawa. [597]

These are pairs having frequency above 1:

Odja--Wanda	7--0	Gusa--Gusi	2--0
Odja--Ndoru	4--4	Wanda--Reandona	2--0
Odja--Meo	4--0	Ndoru--Wanda	4--1

162	Odja--Gusa	3--3	Djawa--Gusa	2--0
● 614	Odja--Reandona	2--0	Wadja--Odja	3--0
582	Odja--Woro	2--1	Reandona--Ndoru	2--0
	Gusa--Wanda	3--0	Penawuri--Baoru	2--0
	Gusa--Soa	2--0		

Thus, of the 15 frequencies, 11 are not reversed; 4 are. This might look a bit like mother's brother's daughter marriage. Note that Wanda never marries into any of the Big 5; but perhaps this does occur in Watu Rota (?).

To get anywhere in this area on the subject of marriages, one would have to collect this sort of data for all cases or from many kampongs. My guess is, whatever the original system was, that there are no marriage classes. However, there probably is a lot of mother's brother's daughter marriage.

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Polygyny cases: (numbers refer to ages)

(1) 38: 30, 20 (sisters); Odja-Meo; pagan; illiterate; No. 5.
(2) 30: 25, 20; Odja-Ndoru, Meo; Christian, Christian, pagan; illiterate, 3, illiterate; No. 8.
(3) 50: 50, 50; Odja-Reandona, Wanda; pagan; illiterate; No. 24.
(4) 40: 30, 20; Ndosi-Wanda, Odja; Christian, pagan, pagan; illiterate; No. 54.
(5) 45: 45, 45, 45; Odja-?, Wanda, ?; pagan; illiterate; No. 62 (giri tumba)
(6) 50: 50, 35; Wadja-Odja; pagan; illiterate; No. 313.
(7) 30: 20, 18; ?-Rewarangga; Christian; 3, 3, illiterate; No. 426.
(8) 40: 30, 40; Bangova-Wanda, ?; Mohammedan; 3, illiterate, illiterate; No. 554.

565 There is not much to say about classes and

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565 ranks. There is really no nobility here, only persons who are in line for posts. As for slaves, the assistant gives only the following: No. 183, male, 40, a Gusa, and a pagan. Something is probably queer here.

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The only offices the assistant gives are:

1. Ata nggaeh nua: No. 1, 60, Odja, pagan, illiterate.
2. Giri tumba: No. 62, 45, Odja, pagan, illiterate.
3. Guru agama: No. 81, 25, Odja, Christian, 4 grades.
4. Kepala kampong: No. 135, 40, Odja, Christian, illiterate.
5. Kapitan: No. 350, 30, Odja, Christian, 3 grades.
6. Djurututis: No. 509, 40, Odja, Christian, 5 grades.
7. Mandur djalan: No. 532, 40, Ndoru, Christian, 5 grades.
8. Hadji: No. 554, 40, Bangova (Nggobe), Mohammedan, 3 grades.

Odja has the most posts. The pagans seem to keep the adat posts.

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VEOL--NDUNG

	Male	Female	Total	Houses	Households	Children	Children under 15
Veol	70	70	140	6	25	82	69
Ndung	89	117	206	9	44	111	105
Total	159	187	346	15	69	193	174

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Clans

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Veol	Men	Women	Children	Total
Veol Clan	17	7	70	94
Other Clans	6	28	12	46
Total	23	35	82	140

Ndung	Men	Women	Children	Total
Veol Clan	18	17	57	92
Other Clans	21	39	54	114
Total	39	56	111	206

Total				
Veol Clan	35	24	127	186
Other Clans	27	67	66	160
Total	62	91	193	346

[591] I can see that Veol keeps to the patrilocal rule, and that there is a great preponderance of the Veol clan. This is more evident in Veol than in Ndung, where there are lots of matrilocal couples, and also many outsiders. In regard to the marriage pairs, this can be seen below:

Marriage Pairs (including Widows)

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	Veol	Ndung	Total
Man (Veol)--Woman (Other)	23	22	45
Woman (Veol)--Man (Other)	4	10	14
Other--Other	4	15	19
Man (Veol)--Woman (Veol) (different panga)	3	6	9

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There is no use working out every marriage pair, because I can see that there is no system of marriage classes here. I note quite a few clearly mother's brother's daughter (tungku)

582 [124] marriages, and the assistant will send a letter to me about this later.

[591] He will also send me a letter about how many of the matrilocal residence cases are because of a failure to pay the bride price.

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Clan Membership or Derivation: Veol

	Men	Women	Children	Total
Veol	17	7	70	94
Paka	3	0	6	9
Leda	1	2	2	5
Leko	1	1	2	4
Poka	0	3	0	3
Papang	1	0	2	3
Kepe		2		2
Laru		1		1
Kole		1		1
Ling		1		1
Taga		2		2
Dalo		2		2
Nulang		1		1
Ndadjung		1		1
Tuke		1		1
Watang		1		1
P. Leok		2		2
Ndehes		2		2
Kuleng		1		1
Tjumbi		1		1
Adjang		1		1
Tjarep		1		1
Nanu		1		1
Total	23	35	82	140

5: Kennedy--429 E-5 (1949-1950)1955 OBl Indonesia
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Clan Membership or Derivation: Ndung

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	Men	Women	Children		Total
Veol	18	17	57		92
Tjumbi	6	8	14		28
Leko	3	1	6		10
La'o	1	1	6		8
Manong	2	0	5		7
Tjarep	2	2	3		7
Budjung	1	-	3		4
Gulung	1	-	3		4
Kuang	1	0	3		4
Pau	2	0	2		4
Paka	1	-	2		3
Ndoso	0	3	0		3
Nati	0	1	2	(widow's children)	3
Senda	1	0	2		3
Kota		1			1
Kole		1	1	(adi [younger sibling])	2
Popo		2			2
Tjepang		1	1		2
Pane		1			1
Ntala		1			1
Tamong		2			2
Nao		1	1	(no explanation)	
Liong		1			1
Ndori		2			2
Bung		2			2
Ruteng		1			1
Ngkaer		1			1
Dese		1			1
Maras		2			2
Pongkor		1			1
Kawong		1			1
Dimpong		1			1
Total	39	56	111		206

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Officers: Veol

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	No.	Clan	Age	Religion	Education
Tuan tanah	44	Veol	50	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan panga lambar	44	Veol	50	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan panga Rinteng	1	Veol	50	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan panga Rundu	62	Veol	60	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 1	1	Veol	50	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 2	44	Veol	50	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 3	127	Papang	50	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 4	122	Leko	60	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 5	80	Veol	35	Christian	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 6	99	Veol	50	Pagan	Illiterate
Kepala kampong	1	Veol	50	Pagan	Illiterate

Officers: Ndung

	No.	Clan	Age	Religion	Education
Tuan tanah	193	Veol	60	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan panga Rosong	168	Veol	30	Christian	Illiterate
Tuan panga Nggurus	193	Veol	60	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 7	304	Tjarep	30	Christian	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 8	324	Senda	20?	Christian	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 9	347	Leko	50	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 10	214	Veol	25	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 11	186	Veol	60	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 12	193	Veol	60	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 13	285	Leko	50	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 14	260	Manong	45	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 15	151	Veol	60	Christian	Illiterate
Kepala kampong		(Lives in Meler)			
Tuan panga Rosong (helper)	151	Veol	60	Christian	Illiterate

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614 Size of Pangas: Veol: 25, 30, 37--62
592 Ndung: 36, 44-80

The houses are usually mixed as far as clans are concerned.

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Polygyny: Veol (3 cases)

(Numbers refer to ages)

Case No. 1 50: 46, 45, 30, 25, 20, 20.
The 5th is Catholic, the others are pagan.
2 are of the same clan, the others from different clans.
1 is sekontun, 1 mangko pitu, 1 lampang, 1 dalu, and 2 gelarang.
All are illiterate.

Case No. 7 50: 46, 30
The 2d is a Catholic, the first pagan.
They are from different clans.
1 is mangko pitu, 1 dalu.
All are illiterate.

Case No. 12 45: 40, 40.
Both are pagan.
They come from different clans.
One is dalu, 1 gelarang.
All are illiterate.

Polygyny: Ndung (4 cases)

Case No. 27 50: 47, 30.
Both are pagan.
They are from different clans.
Both are gelarang.
All are illiterate.

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Case No. 207 40: 37, 30, 25.
The 2d is a Catholic, the others are pagan.
All three are from different clans.
All are gelarang.
All are illiterate.

Case No. 235 30: 27, 30, 30.
The 1st is Catholic, the others pagan.
All three clans are different.
1 is mangko pitu, the others are gelarang.
The husband has finished three grades; the wives are illiterate.

[517] (Note: The 2d wife lives in another house with her children. Because the children are of the same clan as her present husband, and she is a widow, this is perhaps a case of levirate.)

Case No. 307 30: 25, 25.
Both wives and husband are Christian.
Both clans are different.
Both are gelarang.
The husband has finished 3 grades, the wives are illiterate.

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12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OBl Indonesia OB1
Minangkabau OD10 Buru OH8
Enggano OD6 Ceram OH9
Flores OF9 Gayo-Alas OD7
Redjang-Lampong OD12

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2. *Localized clans.*—The complex of localized sub-clans seems to occur in the interior of many of the smaller islands (*e.g.*, Enggano, Buru, Ceram and Flores).[16] Along the coasts, however, mixed villages have grown up consisting of over-seas aliens and emigrant family groups from the interior. In moving toward the coast, kinship groups keep their independence. Even though they live together with the family groups of other clans in villages under a village chief (korano), they occupy their own exclusive land. The village chief, however, has but little authority over those who are not his fellow-clansmen.

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3. *Regional communities of mixed clans.*—Mutually unrelated sub-clans, which make up a territorial community are reported, in the first place, among the Minangkabau. Matrilineal clan members not living in the same "nagari" do not form an autonomous community. The communities are, firstly, the family group (sub-clan) inside the village. These family groups are parts of the same portions of different clans. Those that are of the same clan have become independent by fission; secondly, some (not all) unions of such parts of family groups belonging to unrelated clans; thirdly, the "nagari" formed of sub-clans consisting of family groups, organized or not into units. Minangkabau clans, like the Gayo and the Pubian and many others, have their own names.

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It is impossible to find a description of the Minangkabau which does not begin with the warning, "Do not generalize." In consequence, to an even greater degree than in other regions, only main outlines can be presented. If their social organization is to be formulated through a reconstruction of its development from the basic units on up, it is necessary to begin with a given number of clans. At a given instant, women of different clans (along with brothers and their brothers' wives) settle on either unowned land or desert land in the area of disposal of some territorial community. Gradually, the joint families grow in size, and so also the settlement.

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[423]
The process is as follows. Family groups spring up from the women who are looked upon as the first mothers of the settlement. Subdivisions of clans group themselves as indivisible autonomous communities around the family property (lands, the residence, heirlooms, the family title of the head of the family). The family group (sa buah paruiq) should be imagined as originally located in a family house of its own, with the oldest man of the senior genera-

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[16] In the recently explored interior of Dutch New Guinea, localized clans have also been discovered.